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Abstract of a thesis presented for the degree of Master of
Education entitled "Educational Opportunity and Achievement in
the Manchester Area, 1833 - 1895". October, 1968.

The aim of this inquiry into educational provision in the Manchester district in the nineteenth century is to discover to what extent the voluntary system as it existed before 1870 was able to cater for the educational needs of the area, how far direct state intervention after 1870 was justified and the effect it had on education. It is hoped that it will answer some of the questions, at least on a local level, raised by E.G. West in his controversial book Education and the State published by the Institute of Economic Affairs (1965) in which he claimed that schools provided by the religious agencies and private enterprise were capable of filling the educational deficiencies of the nineteenth century and that state intervention in 1870 inhibited the development of the private sector.

The main conclusions reached are, firstly, that the voluntary system was incapable of providing education for anything approaching a satisfactory proportion of the child population, whether this is viewed as a place for every child or, as the School Boards subsequently fixed it, as a place for one-sixth of the population, one-fifth in poorer working class districts such as were found in and around Manchester.

The numerous inquiries into the state of education before 1870 reveal that some 50% of the child population was at school, with one notable exception. The Newcastle Commission, following an unsatisfactory and unrepresentative survey so far as Lancashire was concerned, gave a figure of 65% for the sample area, this representing only 1 in 8 of the population - generally regarded as unsatisfactory. Even if the voluntary system could have provided the necessary places, it is doubtful if they could have been filled without the element of compulsion which the School Boards introduced.

Secondly, it must be concluded that state intervention on an ever increasing scale was essential before an educational system capable of meeting the needs of an expanding industrial society ^{could} ~~was to~~ be created. It was only in the late 1860's, with the ever increasing threat of direct state intervention, that the voluntary system was prodded into action. Schools provided by them expanded at a remarkable rate and the most glaring deficiencies were filled. For this they must be given full credit, but they were not able to maintain this effort and keep pace with the expanding population on the one hand and the increasing demand for education of a superior character on the other. It was the School Boards which coped with these problems.

Thirdly, the failure of the voluntary system is reflected in the poor quality of such education which was provided before

1870. The introduction of more direct state intervention and the School Boards, did not however automatically lead to improved standards.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND ACHIEVEMENT

IN THE MANCHESTER AREA 1833 - 95

DEREK BICKERSTAFFE

THESIS PRESENTED FOR PART II OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION

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OCTOBER 1968

"The educational state of Manchester is of importance, not only on account of the great size and commercial activity of the city itself, but because it forms the natural educational centre for the group of large towns which surround it within easy daily reach by rail."

(Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education

(Bryce Report) 1895, Vol. VI, p.113)

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Accompanying O.S. map (Sheet 101) showing the Manchester area.

INTRODUCTION.

The area covered by this inquiry into educational opportunity and achievement in the nineteenth century includes Manchester itself and that group of towns within a ten-mile radius ranging from Bolton and Bury to the North West, Rochdale to the North, Oldham to the North East and including Stockport to the South East. These towns form an almost perfect semi-circle with Manchester and its neighbour Salford at the centre of the diameter and the open moorland of the Pennines along the circumference. In the 1850's and 1860's the construction of a comprehensive railway system in the area linked Manchester firmly with these towns.

This was by the beginning of the nineteenth century a highly-industrialised area depending for its prosperity mainly on the textile (predominantly cotton) and allied industries. The degree of this dependence, however, varied from place to place. In some of the Pennine towns which had been transformed almost overnight from rural districts to industrial townships, such as Rochdale, the dependence was almost complete. Other towns, however, whilst basically depending on textiles for their fortunes, did, as in Oldham, have a greater variety of industry. Manchester itself was not just a cotton - manufacturing

town; it was also a commercial centre of importance and had a host of other industries including engineering, chemicals, paper, rubber, hatting, pin making and the manufacture of rope and twine. There were naturally many collieries to supply the need of these industries for power.

The nineteenth century saw a rapid increase in the population, the result of a fall in the infant-mortality rate and a greater expectation of life generally, this despite the appalling living conditions found in most industrial towns. From a population of ten and a half million in 1801, the population of Great Britain had more than doubled by 1861 and trebled by 1891. This increase was particularly marked in the Lancashire industrial towns where the rate of increase was far greater than for the country as a whole. From 94,876 in 1801 the population of Manchester and Salford had jumped to 237,832 by 1831 and then doubled itself every thirty years to 1891. The population of the smaller towns in the district increased equally rapidly, doubling each thirty years from 1801 to 1861, after which the rate of increase dropped slightly.

1. W.H. Chaloner. Manchester and its region, a survey prepared for the British Association, Manchester University Press, 1962, p.141.

This phenomenal increase in the size of the industrial towns of Lancashire was due mainly to immigration as labour was attracted into the area to meet the demands of expanding industry. This new labour force was drawn from the neighbouring rural areas, but a considerable proportion of it was drawn from Ireland and formed a community which presented considerable social and economic problems in the nineteenth century. According to Kay Shuttleworth, who in 1832 wrote of the condition of the working classes in Manchester, ¹ the Irish had taught the English labouring classes the "pernicious lesson" that it was possible to disregard forethought and economy, live at a very low level, spend what was superfluous to mere existence on drink and depend on the support of their children when all else failed. ²

The increasing social and economic importance of this area was reflected in its political growth.

1. James Kay Shuttleworth. The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the cotton manufactures in Manchester, 1832, p.21.

See also T. Coleman, The Railway Navvies, Hutchinson, 1965, p.22.

2. Ibid.

Many of the towns were enfranchised in 1832, Manchester, Bolton, Oldham and Stockport returning two members each and Salford, Bury, Rochdale and Ashton returning one each. Local government in these towns was in the hands of Police Commissioners whose incompetence led in the 1830's and 1840's to movements for incorporation under the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 which made provision for the creation by Royal Charter of new boroughs with elected Councils. Stockport was the only new corporation created by the Act. Manchester and Bolton achieved incorporation in 1838, Salford in 1844 and Oldham in 1848. Rochdale did not achieve this status until 1856 whilst Bury waited a further twenty years until 1876. Manchester became a city in 1853.

Life in these rapidly-expanding industrial towns was squalid, morally corrupting and produced a kind of mental torpor. Kay Shuttleworth¹ produced a horrifying picture of filth, disease, overcrowding, want and corruption which, although improved during the century, must have provided the basis of existence for many thousands of families throughout the area during this period. Manchester itself he described as a "dense mass of houses" inhabited mainly by the working classes with the wealthy moving to

1. Kay Shuttleworth, op.cit., p.38.

the outskirts. Filth was accepted as part of the natural order of life with the River Irk acting as a main sewer for industrial and human waste. Pigs, kept by many householders, added to the stench of the district. The lack of clean water made the maintenance of decent standards doubly difficult. Houses were damp, badly ventilated, poorly furnished and served by few privies. The standard of health as might be expected under these circumstances was poor. There were frequent outbreaks of cholera but Kay Shuttleworth wrote that the main health problem was not that of fatal disease, but rather one of permanent ill health, a "state of physical depression, which does not terminate in fatal organic changes, which, however converts existence into a prolonged disease, and is not only compatible with life, but is proverbially protracted to an advanced senility".

Industrialisation in the early years of the nineteenth century failed to increase the real wages of the industrial workers. Certainly this was so amongst the unskilled labouring classes which tended permanently

1. Kay Shuttleworth, op.cit., p.74.

to glut the labour market. Possibly as much as 40%
of the industrial labour force lived at or below
the poverty line.¹ Kay Shuttleworth, however, claimed
that in 1832 a labouring man could live comfortably
on the current wages which averaged nine to twelve
shillings a week, if he was temperate in his habits.²
Yet the temptations of the poorer districts with their
multitude of beer houses and gin shops, the need for
some form of escape following a working day of fourteen
hours which left all but the most determined incapable
of seeking self-improvement, and the example of their
Irish neighbours, were not conducive to temperance.
Drunkenness, depravity and poverty were widespread
and many of the poorest areas were so degraded that
respectable people and even police dared not penetrate.

Kay Shuttleworth was convinced that the only way
to improve the condition of the labouring classes was
through education which should be sufficient for the
whole of the working class and go beyond the mere

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1. E.J. Hobsbawm, The Economic History Review, vol. X
No. 1, 1957, pp.46 - 61.
 2. Kay Shuttleworth, op. cit., p.43.

rudiments to teach habits of forethought and economy, "rational amusements" as opposed to "licentious pleasures", and help the workman with his trade.¹ Yet the obstacles standing in the way of any effective spread of education were formidable. First of all any system of education had to cope with the rapidly-increasing population at this time which meant an ever-increasing number of children to be accommodated. It was not sufficient simply to increase the number of places to make good deficiencies since the size of the deficiency was constantly changing. The problem of providing school places was not a static problem. Secondly the problem of civilising the working-class population and integrating the immigrant community, brutalised by the living and working conditions of the time, was immense. Thirdly there was the difficulty of getting children to school even when the places were available for them at a time when child labour was at a premium and when want and the recurring burden of unemployment in a society such as that of the Manchester district made education one of the first

1. Kay Shuttleworth, op. cit., pp.93 and 97.

economies to be made. Finally there was the problem of equipping the population with the skills and knowledge which were increasingly being required in an expanding commercial and industrial community which was at the same time assuming ever greater political responsibilities.

The aim of this inquiry is a two-fold one. First it is intended as an examination of the amount of education and the quality of that education, which was available in the Manchester area between 1833 and 1895. These dates have been selected as delimiting a period which was concerned primarily with the problem of the extension of elementary education. In 1833 the government gave its first grant to aid elementary education whilst after 1895 with the Report of the Bryce Commission interest shifted to secondary education and the creation of a unified system of elementary and secondary education.

The second aim is to attempt to answer two questions both of which are raised by E.G. West in his highly controversial book, Education and the State, published by the Institute of Economic Affairs in 1965. West maintained

that private enterprise was showing itself capable of filling the educational deficiencies of the nineteenth century and that when the state intervened in the provision of education in 1833 "it was as if it jumped into the saddle of a horse that was already galloping."¹ Further, West held that the more direct state intervention after 1870 inhibited the development of schools provided by private individuals and the religious agencies. He concluded: "what remains clearly to be shown is that the increase of school places in the government sector was not completely offset by the damage done to the growth of the private sector."² This inquiry will attempt to examine how far these developments took place in the Manchester area.

1. p.138.

2. p.156.

CHAPTER 1. The State of Education in 1833.

"This is multum in parvo indeed ! Yes, I teach that, you may put that down too." (Remark made by a Manchester common day school master in 1834, quoted in Report of Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, p.8.)

1

In 1833 the government for the first time resolved that, "a sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses for the education of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain." The efforts of the "education mad" party had at last met with some success and a start had been made towards the state provision of education. So far as large parts of industrial Lancashire were concerned there was certainly considerable need for some aid to education. A survey of education in the 1830's reveals lamentable deficiencies in the state of education at that time, with three basic problems to be overcome before anything approaching a satisfactory state could be achieved. First of all, there were not enough school places available in

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1. I do not count the Parliamentary grant to provide salaries for schoolmasters voted in 1649.
 2. Men such as Whitbread and Brougham who advocated state intervention in education.

the area for every child of school age; secondly, attendance at such schools as there were was usually irregular and of a brief duration, a fact which further drastically reduced the average number of children receiving education; and thirdly, such schools as the fortunate few did attend were usually of an unsatisfactory quality.

Facts and figures concerning the state of education at this time were collected by Parliamentary agencies and local associations. In 1833 a Parliamentary enquiry called for by Lord Kerry took place. This was followed by the investigations of three Select Committees, the most important being that of 1837. Meanwhile local associations were formed to inquire into, amongst other things, the quantity and quality of education in their areas. The Manchester Statistical Society, founded in 1833, was the first and most important. In 1834 the returns published as a result of Lord Kerry's inquiry aroused controversy in Manchester, many people being of the opinion that they were too optimistic so far as

1. Throughout the nineteenth century there was widespread ignorance concerning the nature and size of the educational problem. See J. Stuart Maclure, Educational Documents England and Wales 1816 - 1963, Chapman and Hall, 1966, p.3.

Manchester was concerned.¹ A committee of the newly formed Manchester Statistical Society was set up, with Dr. Kay as a co-opted member "to examine into the state of the Day, Sunday, Charity and Infant schools in the Borough of Manchester, and to report on the number and efficiency of the instruction there received."² The results of this inquiry were so significant, disclosing as they did the inadequacy of the educational system in Manchester, that similar surveys were conducted in Bury in 1835, Liverpool 1835, York 1836 and the County of Rutland 1838. Other societies rapidly followed, the London Statistical Society in 1834 and others at Bristol and Birmingham in 1836. The government committees of inquiry came to rely a great deal on the work of the Statistical Societies, the "Report of the Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes",³ published in 1838, used figures collected by the societies.

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1. The Manchester Statistical Society pointed out that many schools had been omitted on the one hand and false or double returns made on the other. The errors involved 181 schools and 8,646 pupils. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester 1834, p.4.
 2. Ibid, p.1.
 3. C. Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, U.T.P., 1940, p.73 footnote.

It is widely accepted that their findings may be taken as reliable.

The Manchester Statistical Society identified seven types of schools in the Manchester area, which provided education of widely varying quality, at this time. The Dame Schools and the common day schools (with evening schools attached) provided education of a purely elementary character, whilst the endowed or charity schools sometimes provided education which must be classed as Secondary education. There were some Infant Schools. The Sunday schools and Mechanics' Institutes, whilst catering for different age groups, had in common the fact that they provided educational opportunity for thousands of children and adults who, without them, would have received no education at all. The factory schools, established in 1802, must also be taken into account. These schools can be divided into two categories, private and public. Private schools were those run by private individuals, usually for private profit. The Dame Schools, common day schools and the factory schools, which were set up and run by factory owners in order to conform with the regulations of the Factory Acts, were in this category. Public schools were those run by churches and chapels, such societies as the British and Foreign School Society

and the National Society and groups of trustees and managers which provided schools as a social or charitable service and will be referred to as publicly provided schools. The remaining schools usually belonged to this category.

The Dame Schools were numerous and popular, but their educational standards were unsatisfactory. The Manchester Statistical Society Reports on the Dame Schools are uniformly damning. A typical report¹ condemned them as being generally² deplorable, teaching reading and some sewing only, since baby minding rather than instruction was the main purpose. They were comparatively cheap. Manchester Dame School charges averaged 4d. a week whilst to place a child in a common day school could cost twice as much. They met in dirty rooms, cellars or garrets. In one school there were eleven children in a small room with the mistress's child ill in bed with measles. Another had twenty children, sitting on the floor since there were no benches,

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1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p.7.
 2. Ibid p.34, Table V, the 230 schools taught reading, 177 of them taught needlework, two religion, one morals, two writing, one grammar.

sharing two or three books. Some schools had no books. The teacher's qualification for the job was her unfitness for any other occupation. Of the 325 Dame School teachers in Manchester, Salford and Bury only twelve claimed to have had any kind of training. Ten of these laid such claim because either their parents had kept schools or they had been Sunday School teachers.¹ Many combined their teaching with shopkeeping, sewing or washing. One teacher in a Bury school remarked on this saying, "It is not much they lose, for it is not a great deal I am able to teach them."²

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1. See p. 34 Table II taken from Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p.36.
 2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Bury, 1835, p.5.

The following description of a Dame School in Oldham written by the Oldham dialect poet Samuel Laycock (1826-1893) undoubtedly described many such schools at this time.

"At number one, i' Bowton's Yard, mi granny
keeps a skoo,
Hoo hasna mony scholars yet, hoo's nobbut one
or two;
They sen th'owd woman's rayther cross - well,
well, it may be so,
Aw know hoo boxed me rarely once, an poo'd mi
ears an'o."

The average income of the Dame School teacher was about £18 per year. These schools provided about 25% of the day school places in the Manchester area, but their number was increasing rapidly. Out of 230 Dame Schools in Manchester 138 had been established since 1830, in Salford out of 65 schools, 44 had been established since 1830 and in Bury twelve out of 30.

The common day schools were a little better, but were still far from satisfactory. These schools were more expensive to attend than the Dame Schools and drew their pupils from the children of skilled workmen and small shopkeepers. The boys' schools averaged 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week in Manchester with charges as high as 1/4d. in some cases. The girls' schools were even more expensive averaging 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week with a maximum of 1/9d. The quality of these schools did not warrant the extra cost. They taught reading, writing and arithmetic, but some claimed

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1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p. 32. Table I, Salford 1835, p.32, Table I; Bury 1835, p. 17, Table I.
 2. H.C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education 1760 to 1944, U.L.P., 1947, p.2 - 4 distinguishes between the Dame Schools and the common day schools. Both provided rudimentary education, but the common day schools catered for rather older children and were usually kept by men.

a wide syllabus which included natural history, history¹ and geography. There can be little doubt that in most cases these claims were wildly exaggerated. There was inadequate accommodation, classes of over forty, and few books. Again the teachers were largely untrained, combining teaching with other occupations and, in many cases, were quite uneducated. One Manchester schoolmaster expressed his concern at the increasing number of schools, suggesting that nobody but "them as is high larnt," should be allowed to keep a school.² A Salford schoolmaster, on being urged by his wife and daughter to attend to his school, threw them out and spent the next two weeks in the beer shop.³ One of the best schools in this category was kept by a blind man who diligently heard the children's lessons and explained with great simplicity, but was frequently interrupted to turn his wife's mangle.⁴ Teaching was generally of a mechanical nature since the teachers were incapable of adopting more

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1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p.9.
 2. Ibid, p.8.
 3. Ibid, Salford, p.10.
 4. Ibid, Manchester, p.6.

imaginative methods. These schools provided about a third of the day-school places in the district and, like the Dame Schools, they, too, were expanding. Out of 179 schools in this category, 95 had been established since 1830 in Manchester, 12 out of 42 in Salford and seven out of 17 in Bury.¹

The Dame Schools and the common day schools were with few exceptions, unsatisfactory. The remaining schools and institutions presented a somewhat brighter picture. The endowed or charity schools ranged from the Manchester Free Grammar School founded in 1519 which provided traditional classical education, the Seventeenth Century Chetham's Hospital or Blue Coat School teaching English grammar, writing, arithmetic, religious and moral instruction, through monitorial schools and Charity Schools supported by private benevolence or church and chapel congregations, to a Dame School supported by the teacher herself with only a penny a week payment from the scholars.² Manchester had a school for the deaf and dumb. These schools were generally satisfactory, but the monitorial system which many of them adopted was open to criticism. The Manchester Statistical Society maintained that the system was too mechanical,

1. Reports of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, Table I, p.32; Salford 1835, Table I, p.32; Bury Table I, p.17.

2. Ibid, Manchester, p.11.

adequate for teaching writing and arithmetic, but of little use in teaching other subjects and the "cultivation of the mental powers"¹. Rather less than 20% of the day school pupils attended these schools.

There were few Infant Schools, only five in Manchester with a total attendance of 345 children, but they were of a high standard. In Manchester their design and management was said to be excellent. They did not adopt the monitorial system and were designed to awaken the mental powers and instil moral and religious principles.²

The Sunday schools were numerous and many of them had evening schools attached to them. They had a general civilising influence, installing habits of order and regularity, giving religious and moral instruction and doing much to cultivate the habit of school attendance in industrial areas where it was lacking. Their value, however, was severely limited by the narrowness of their curriculum and the fact that they did not provide continuous education. Most of them taught only scripture and reading; ten only of the 86 schools in Manchester taught writing and three arithmetic.³ The evening schools did have a rather wider curriculum.

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, p.12.

3. Ibid, p.13.

The Mechanics' Institutes provided a standard of education beyond that supplied by the purely elementary schools. They were well run and the teachers were men of ability and judgement. The Manchester Statistical Society strongly recommended that they should be extended, but it also pinpointed the limitations of the Mechanics' Institutes. They were not aimed at the lower classes. Their students were drawn from the upper working class, the skilled craftsmen and even the lower middle class. This is reflected in their curriculum which included, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, German, French, Latin, mechanical drawing and flower drawing. Attendance at the Mechanics' Institutes required a considerable degree of literacy.¹

Another type of school which ought to be mentioned as providing some measure of education at this time was the factory school. These schools were established in 1802 with the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act which required, amongst other things, that factories should make provision during the day for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. For many years the Manchester Literary and

1. See, pp. 193 - 195.

Philosophical Society had been campaigning against the system of apprenticeship and it must take considerable credit for this Act. The introduction of these schools into Manchester seems to have been delayed, however, and they did not make their appearance until the 1830's.¹ The Manchester Statistical Society hoped that these new developments would help to overcome the "lamentable deficiency"² in education, but in fact they left much to be desired. They were established simply to comply with the legal requirements and there was little attempt to make them into good schools. Since they did not receive grants from the grants to education that were made after 1833, they were not open to inspection when, after 1839, inspectors were appointed by the Committee of the Privy Council, and there was accordingly no check on their

1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p.v.

2. Ibid

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standard.

These schools in the Manchester district provided school places for 33,000 children aged five to fifteen, some 66% of a child population of approximately 50,000.²

1. Some humane manufacturers such as David Dale at New Lanark, took care to provide schools of a high quality. The following extract reproduced from the evidence of Thomas Bazley, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, before the Select Committee on Education in Manchester and Salford in 1853, is more typical, however:-

Question - Don't Factory Inspectors inquire if the school is a good school or simply complying with the law?

Answer - The Inspectors are glad to see a good school, but they are satisfied if it complies with the law.

Question - If the children have learned nothing, but simply attend - that would be called education under the Factory Act?

Answer - Yes.

2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, p. 3.

The Manchester Statistical Society considered it unsatisfactory that one-third of the children of Manchester should be without a school place,¹ but nevertheless it would seem that a considerable number of children were in a school of some kind. In fact the figures present far too optimistic a picture because of the inclusion of Sunday school pupils. Many of these 33,000 children received no education other than that provided by the Sunday schools and the Statistical Society concluded that only about 20,000 children were receiving continuous education.² The figure of 66% of the child population at school should thus be reduced to 40%.

This assumption is supported by the figures for Liverpool³ where there were few Sunday schools. Out of a total school population of 33,183, only 3,719 attended Sunday school only. Because of this shortage of Sunday schools only 47.3% of the school age population could be accommodated in schools. Excellent as the Sunday schools were in many ways, it can hardly be claimed that they

1. Ibid, p.18.

2. Ibid, p.2.

3. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Liverpool in 1835-6, p.35.

provided an adequate education. They should not be taken into consideration when trying to assess the quantity of education at this time. Thus in Manchester in the early 1830's three children out of ten were without a school place of any kind and almost six out of ten were without a regular place in a day school.

The Manchester area was relatively well served by grammar schools which were to be found in most of the townships around Manchester. Manchester itself, Stockport, Bolton, Middleton, Bury, Rochdale and Oldham all had grammar schools founded in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They all, however, suffered in the early years of the century from the complaint which affected many English grammar schools, especially in the new industrial areas, the fact that they offered a narrow classical curriculum which was no longer acceptable to parents who wanted a commercial education for their sons. The grammar schools, especially following the Eldon decision of 1805 in the case of Leeds Grammar School which declared that grammar schools should abide strictly by the declared intentions of their founders,¹ found it difficult to adjust

1. S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, U.T.P., 1957, p.125.

their curriculum and organisation to the new needs of society. Many of the grammar schools in the Manchester area, however, managed to circumvent these restrictions and modernise their curricula, but as a result the quality of the schools often declined.

The Manchester Grammar School had since the eighteenth century been teaching writing, arithmetic, French and Mathematics, even though the founder had forbidden the masters to take "cockpenny", the receipt of fees in return for extra tuition, by the simple expedient of teaching the extra subjects on those days when the pupils had half-day¹ holidays and recruiting assistant masters for the task.

In 1833 R. Potter petitioned Parliament on behalf of the Greengate Unitarian Church, Salford, for a "National System of Education to be financed out of charitable bequests left to education in the past"² and gave Manchester Grammar School as an example of "rich private charities shamefully mismanaged", with an income of £4,400 per annum and only 150 boys learning Latin and Greek. There should, Potter claimed, have been 3,000 children learning more useful subjects in

1. J.A. Graham and B.A. Pythian, The Manchester Grammar School, Manchester University Press, 1965, p.33.

2. Ibid, p.36.

schools financed with such endowments.¹ The feoffees administering the endowments were aware of these attacks, mounted mainly by the Manchester radicals who had recently dominated the 1832 Parliamentary elections, and had some months previously presented a scheme to the Court of Chancery designed to enable the school to cater more closely for the needs of the area. The Court of Chancery had, since 1805 and the Eldon Judgment, grown more reasonable and sensitive to the educational needs of the country and had already given permission to the grammar schools at Macclesfield² and Birmingham to open Commercial Schools to be financed from the endowments. Manchester Grammar School gained similar concessions in 1833 and the feoffees were able to offer the modern subjects on a full time basis. A new building was opened in 1837 to accommodate this "English" school.³

The introduction of these subjects did little to add prestige to the school since they amounted to little more than the teaching of copperplate handwriting required

1. Ibid

2. Ibid

3. Ibid, p.34.

of clerks and simple book keeping whilst geography was simply the learning of names and facts which it was thought would be useful to a commercial subject. There¹ was scarcely any demand for French or Mathematics.

The history of Middleton Grammar School at this time is illustrative of the way in which standards declined as the school tried to adjust itself to the new requirements. This school had an Upper School which, in addition to Greek and Latin, had taught commercial subject since 1818,² and a Lower School which prepared pupils for the Upper School. At the end of the eighteenth century the monitorial system was introduced into the Lower School. This led to a decline in standards which in due course affected the quality of the Upper School. By the early 1830's local dissatisfaction with the state of the school had reached such a pitch that Lord Suffield, the Lord of the Manor of Middleton and Alexander Nowell, a descendant of the founder, sued for recovery of the endowments.³ In 1842 the Lower School

1. Ibid, p.35.

2. R.S. Paul and W.J. Smith, A History of Middleton Grammar School, Pub. Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, 1965, p.20.

3. Ibid, p.21.

classes and the income they brought to the school, were lost to a newly opened National School. This further affected the fortunes of the Upper School and by 1865¹ there was only one assistant master and eleven pupils.

There were also a number of private schools which provided education of a post-elementary character. They were usually modelled on the lines of the endowed grammar schools, but not being bound by foundation deeds they could adjust much more readily to the demand for commercial education. This they did and they were well patronised by middle-class parents in the Manchester area. The standard of education they provided varied considerably according to the fees charged.

The results achieved by this educational system were, as might be expected, poor. It would seem, however, as if the standard of educational attainment was far lower than² the national average. H.J. Perkin denies that the literate public necessary for the establishment of the

1. Ibid, p.22.

2. H.J. Perkin , History Today, July 1957, "The Origins of the Popular Press".

popular press was created by the 1870 Education Act. He claims instead that there was a large literate public well before 1870 and bases much of his argument on the existence of a flourishing lower class press as early as the 1830's.

¹
E.G. West also examines the degree of literacy in the early nineteenth century. He quotes the Report on the Training of Pauper Children in 1838 by Kay Shuttleworth. In Suffolk and Norfolk 87% of the workhouse children aged nine to sixteen could read to some degree. 79% of Northumberland and Durham miners in 1840 were literate, whilst, according to the Report of the Handloom Weavers Commission 1839, out of 195 handloom weavers in Gloucester-²shire only fifteen could not read. R.K. Webb maintained that the degree of literacy varied enormously from area to area, but he gives an overall figure of two-thirds to three-quarters of the population literate. He also claimed that the literacy figures were highest in the industrial north.

The figures for Manchester, however, do not seem to support this generally optimistic picture. In November and December 1836 an examination was conducted in Manchester

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1. E.G. West, Education and the State, Institute of Economic Affairs, 1965, pp. 129 to 130.
 2. R.K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader 1790 - 1848, Allen and Unwin, 1955, p. 10.

and Salford cotton mills by the factory inspector, Leonard Horner,¹ to discover the degree of literacy amongst young factory workers. The age group was thirteen to fourteen and two thousand children were examined separately. The books used were a common spelling book and chapters 5, 6 and 7 of St. Matthew's Gospel. Those who said they could write were given a pen, ink and paper. If they could sign their names in any legible manner, scarcely a difficult test, they were considered as being able to write. The results² of the examination are set out in Table I.

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1. Horner was perhaps a biased investigator since he was a believer in state intervention in education, but his criterion of literacy was a very modest one; his subjects were representative of the majority of people in the neighbourhood and were young and thus the products of whatever educational opportunity there was in the late 1820's and early 1830's.
 2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, pp. V and VI. (1838 edition).

Table I. Results of examination of young textile workers in Manchester and Salford, 1836.

	PERCENTAGE					
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Did not know the alphabet	77	109	186	7.40	11.35	9.30
Knew alphabet only	177	195	372	17.02	20.31	18.60
Could read words of one syllable only	260	249	509	25.00	25.94	25.45
Could read testament but with difficulty	200	122	322	19.23	12.71	16.10
Could read testament with ease	326	285	611	31.35	29.69	30.55
	1040	960	2000	100.00	100.00	100.00
Of these the number that could write their names was	341	100	441	32.79	10.42	22.05

It would seem from these figures that 69.45% of those tested could either not read, or read only with difficulty. Moreover, 77.95% could not write their names. No doubt some of these children would "pick up" some degree of literacy in

later years, but these figures are a severe condemnation of the educational provision in the area at this time.

Many of the products of this system had themselves a low opinion of it. Some typical comments from the township of Pendleton in 1838¹ are highly critical. A youth said that he had been to school but that the instruction was not "gradely" and he could not say his letters. A woman recalled her school where "the mistress used to set the school agate a peeling potatoes and fetching water 'stead setting them to read". Another woman said that her daughter learned to write at Sunday School, but "ne'er got much good at a day school". Such poor results were to be expected in a community where there was an inadequate number of school places, undue reliance on part-time education provided by the Sunday schools and irregular attendance. Perhaps the greatest single factor behind these results, however, was the low quality of education provided, the result mainly of unsatisfactory teaching and teachers. Table II reveals that the great majority of teachers in the Manchester area were untrained and there can be little doubt that few of those who claimed to have had training had received anything like satisfactory training. A considerable

1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Township of Pendleton 1838, p.4.

number of teachers, however did have several years' experience, a fact which to some extent may have compensated for their lack of training. Many teachers, especially in Dame Schools, and common day schools, combined teaching with a variety of other occupations. It is significant that the highest proportion of trained teachers were in the Infant Schools. Other satisfactory teachers were found in the Sunday Schools, which provided a training ground for many Dame School and Common Day School teachers.

So it would seem that in the Manchester area there was considerable need for an increase in educational opportunity, from any source. The Manchester Statistical Society concluded its report on the state of education in Manchester by saying that if Manchester was an average example of educational provision, in England, then it "presents a painful and mortifying contrast to that of some of the other countries of the continent".¹ Perhaps the final word can be left to a Pendleton housewife who said "but its a weary thing when people cannot read, it's blessed fine thing to be a good scholar."²

1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, pp. 17 - 18.

West was forced to admit that Manchester in the 1830's had particular difficulties and maintained that it should not be taken as representative of the whole country. Education and the State, op. cit., p. 137.

2. Ibid, Pendleton, p. 4.

Table II Teachers in Manchester, Salford and Bury 1834/35.
 Taken from Manchester Statistical Society Reports on State
Education in Manchester, Salford and Bury, p.36.

SCHOOLS	TEACHERS				NUMBER OF YEARS TEACHING										EDUCATION		
	Number	No other occupation	Other occupation	Not known	1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7+	N.K.	For teaching	Not for teaching	Not known	
Dame Schools	230	165	65	-	44	24	31	20	21	12	8	70	-	-	222	8	
Common Boys	116	112	3	1	17	4	12	8	13	3	7	51	1	21	84	11	
Common Girls	63	61	2	-	3	7	14	6	3	3	2	24	1	8	55	-	
Superior Boys	36	32	3	1	-	1	-	3	5	-	3	23	1	9	21	6	
Superior Girls	78	76	-	2	8	4	10	5	8	3	3	35	2	15	60	3	
Infant	5	5	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	
Charity	21	20	1	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	8	9	5	11	5	
Evening Schools	83	71	11	1	14	5	9	5	6	1	3	40	-	7	72	4	
Total	632	542	85	5	88	45	78	50	58	22	26	252	14	65	530	37	

MANCHES-TER

SCHOOLS	TEACHERS				NUMBER OF YEARS TEACHING									EDUCATION		
	Number	No other occupation	Other occupation	Not known	1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7+	N.K.	For teaching	Not for teaching	Not known
Dame Schools	65	52	13	-	12	6	7	13	3	3	1	19	1	10	55	-
Common Boys	27	21	4	2	2	-	4	1	4	-	2	12	2	7	20	-
Common Girls	15	12	-	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	-	3	3	1	14	-
Superior Boys	9	5	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	5	4	-
Superior Girls	20	15	-	5	-	1	2	1	2	3	1	5	5	9	11	-
Infant	3	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	-
Charity	13	12	1	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	1	7	-	2	11	-
Evening Schools	28	23	4	1	3	1	5	1	4	-	2	11	1	7	21	-
Total	180	143	23	14	19	11	23	19	14	7	9	62	16	41	139	-

SCHOOLS	TEACHERS				NUMBER OF YEARS TEACHING								EDUCATION			
	Number	No other occupation	Other occupation	Not known	1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7+	N.K.	For teaching	Not for teaching	Not known
Dame Schools	30	22	8	-	3	1	2	4	1	3	5	11	-	2	28	-
Common Boys	13	7	6	-	2	1	2	1	-	-	3	4	-	1	12	-
Common Girls	4	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	3	-
Superior Boys	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-
Superior Girls	6	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	4	2	-
Infant	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Charity	4	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	2	-
Evening	6	5	1	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Total	67	50	17	-	8	4	7	6	1	4	9	28	-	12	47	-

BURY

CHAPTER 2. Educational Opportunity 1833 to 1870.

"If Manchester, with a population of half a million, acknowledges the existence of 40,000 untaught children in her streets and factories, is it not too probable that three or even four times that amount is a reasonable allowance of the terrible responsibility for London with its two millions and a half?" (John Oakley, Letter to The Times, 9th November, 1866).

A School attendance 1833 to 1858.

There was a growing awareness in the early nineteenth century that the system of education in England was inadequate for the needs of the time since, throughout the period from 1833 to 1870, only about 50% of the school age population of the Manchester district received full time education. There were two basic reasons for this. First of all there were not enough school places available. There is little doubt that the number of school places increased during this period, but the distribution of schools was also a factor influencing the number of children attending school. Whilst the overall position regarding school accommodation might improve, this did little to provide education in poorer districts where there remained an insufficient number of places. There were all kinds of geographical and social barriers preventing a child from a deprived area attending a school in an area where there was a plentiful supply of places. It must also be borne in mind that school accommodation had to keep pace with an increasing population. Secondly, for a variety of reasons,

parents either could not or would not send their children to the schools which were available. This was a persistent problem never completely solved, even by the School Boards after 1870. As a result attendance was usually so irregular and brief that the education which was received could have been of little value.

The years after 1833 were years of great activity in education as the realisation spread that a new emphasis should be given to education, but they were also years of controversy as to how this should be given. The severest critics of the existing system were those who favoured a much more positive and direct intervention in education by the state, or, in the case of Manchester, possibly a locally appointed body, to help the development of public elementary education. They tended to be avid, and remarkably accurate, collectors of statistics which they used to condemn the existing state of education, and they compared the results of their

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1. In 1824 two elementary schools were established by Liverpool town council as a deliberate attempt to prove that children of all sects could be educated together in publicly owned elementary schools. The experiment was remarkably successful. See J. Murphy, The Religious Problem in English Education, Liverpool University Press, 1959.

inquiries unfavourably with the situation in many European countries where there was a considerable amount of state¹ provided education. The opponents of state education, whilst doing their utmost to improve the existing state of affairs on the one hand, attempted to defend it on the other. Their defence was based on the current laissez faire philosophy, that education, like the economy, prospered best if left alone, and the argument that education involved far more than simply attaining literacy, that it was essentially a spiritual affair and should therefore be left to the religious bodies. They also took part in the war of statistics, but they were constantly on the defensive, concerned with refuting the figures put forward by the "education mad" party and rarely taking the initiative themselves. Their argument was that those who wanted state education set impossibly high standards, ignored the progress which was being made and that their estimates of the educational

1. H.M. Pollard, Pioneers of Popular Education, Murray, 1956, p.189 et seq.

deficiencies were unrealistic.¹

An indication, however, of the difficulty which the churches and chapels encountered in catering for the educational needs of their parishioners can be seen in the fact that they were finding difficulty in catering for the spiritual needs of the new towns generally.² K.S. Inglis has shown that amongst the working-class populations of the new industrial towns religion was on the decline in the early nineteenth century. Though the churches and chapels worked hard to combat atheism and barbarism, especially after 1850, they found it impossible to cope with the ever-mounting pressure of the population. The Catholic Church was the most successful in maintaining its hold over the working-class, but even here there were problems. In 1845 a Manchester priest complained that although there were twelve priests working as hard as they could there were still 40,000 Catholics in Manchester who had not made their "Easter Duty",

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1. These are the arguments used by E.G. West in his defence of voluntary effort. E.G. West, Education and the State, The Institute of Economic Affairs, 1965, pp.144 to 148.
 2. K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

"for sheer want of someone to hear their confessions".¹

James Fraser, the second Bishop of Manchester (1870 - 1885), was well aware of the gulf which existed between organised religion and the working class and devoted much of his effort to that class, trying to identifying the church much more closely with them and their problems. He was sympathetic towards the Manchester cotton workers during the cotton strike of 1878, organised relief during the depression of the late 1870's and gave his moral support to the co-operative movement.² He was not completely successful. The task was too great for one man, or any group of men, no matter how dedicated. Thus by 1899, although the Church of England was by that time spending £2 million per annum on building and restoration, the proportion of church seats to the population in Manchester was declining.³

1. Ibid, pp.16/17.

2. John W. Diggle, The Lancashire Life of Bishop Fraser, Abel Heywood and Son, Manchester, Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3. Inglis, op. cit., p.57.

The Parliamentary grant of 1833 did little to improve the provision of education in Manchester in the 1830's. So great was the demand for aid that preference was given to the larger schools with 400 or more pupils. The grant was continued on this basis for the next six years and thus tended to go to those fairly well-to-do areas which, unlike Manchester, already had large schools catering for a considerable number of children.¹ In 1838 the Manchester Statistical Society conducted an intensive inquiry into the state of education in Pendleton,² which was part of the Borough of Salford which had been surveyed in 1835.³ The aim of the inquiry was to see what progress, if any, had taken place in the quantity and quality of education in the area in the two and a half years since the earlier inquiry. The Pendleton survey underlined the point made by the earlier large scale inquiries in Manchester and Salford, that the state of education in the Manchester district was unsatisfactory and was not improving.

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1. Birchenough, op. cit., p.70.
 2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Township of Pendleton, 1838.
 3. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Salford, 1835.

Pendleton was a typical product of the industrial revolution, its economy being based on flax spinning and coal mining. Its population had increased from 6,000 in 1821, to 8,435 in 1831 and 10,000 by 1838. At the time of the 1838 inquiry the town had been experiencing bad trade for over two years. An intensive inquiry was conducted by the Manchester Statistical Society, with a house to house survey, which revealed that the state of education in Pendleton had not improved since the last inquiry; indeed, it seemed to have deteriorated.

The number of schools of all kinds providing elementary education in Pendleton in 1835 was 39, providing places for 2050 pupils. By 1838 the number of schools had fallen to 37¹ but the number of pupils had risen to 2600. This apparent increase in educational opportunity in the town was offset by two factors. First the number of children of school age, five to fifteen, in the town had increased by 200 to 2184 since the 1835 inquiry.² Secondly, and perhaps more significant,

1. See Table III, p.47.

2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Township of Pendleton, 1838, p.2.

was the fact that the overall increase was due to increased attendance at Sunday Schools not at the day schools. In 1835 Sunday School attendance was 790, by 1838 this had almost doubled to 1402.¹ Attendance at the day schools, on the other hand, had in fact dropped from 1157 to 1118, from 58% of the school age population to 51.2%. The report paid tribute to the influence which the Sunday School had over the young people of the district, but pointed out that "as a means of secular instruction, these schools must not be viewed in too high a light".²

An equally important deficiency can be seen in the fact that of those who attended a school of any kind, one third went for less than three years, one third between three and five years,³ whilst only one third attended for more than five years. Even whilst nominally attending school, attendance was irregular. About 665 of the pupils attending the Pendleton day and evening schools at this time were irregular attenders.⁴ This was due

1. See Table III p.47.

2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Township of Pendleton, 1838, p.3.

3. Ibid, p.10.

4. Ibid

to infirmity in 30 cases, loss of parents, 39, and parental neglect accounted for 66. One mother had sent her son to school for four years "backards and forards", but he could not read his spelling book. Another woman complained that she "never went to school so much as to keep me in learning - cannot tell how it were - think it was neglect", 113 failed to attend regularly because they were required for employment, to nurse younger children, or other domestic tasks. A woman declared that she never sent her children to school except when she could find nothing better for them to do, whilst another said that children were needed to keep their parents when they were out of work. By far the greatest number of irregular attenders, 265 out of 665, were irregular attenders because of poverty. A mother of seven declared "we send them to school a bit when we can afford it, but there's too many folk in the world - poor folk cannot live let alone clothing and larning - I cannot forshame to let children go out let alone going to school".¹ A "decent and respectable" weaver found it impossible to maintain his children at school regularly on his low wages. He sent them to Sunday school, but here, too, there was the problem of clothing. A family

1. This was a considerable problem for proud working class people.

of eight could be sent to school only in "bits and snatches"
since the father was out of work.¹

1. Ibid

Table III showing the number of schools and school places in Pendleton in 1835 and 1838, adapted from the Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Township of Pendleton 1838, page 11, Table A.

		1835		1838	
		Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Receiving Sunday School tuition only		6	790	7	1402
Day Schools	Dame	8	228	8	163
"	Common	7	224	3	110
"	Superior	5	87	7	161
Infant Schools assisted by public		1	65	2	206
Other charity schools		6	553	6	478
TOTAL Day Schools		27	1157	26	1118
Evening schools supported by scholars		5	79	3	52
"	" " " " charity	1	24	1	28
		6	103	4	80
TOTAL schools and scholars of all kinds		39	2050	37	2600

The revelations of the Manchester Statistical Society aroused some local activity in the late 1830's. In 1837 the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education was formed¹ and, with the aid of local subscriptions and a government grant of £400, two schools were established at Gould Street and Wilmot Street. By 1843 the society had collapsed and the school at Gould Street was handed over to the trustees whilst the Wilmot Street School passed under the control of the Chorlton-on-Medlock Lyceum. Enthusiasm waned, the subscriptions dried up and within a year both these schools had been handed over to the teachers in charge to run as best they could as private schools. A school established at Ellon Street in 1841 by "an association of persons of different religious creeds and denominations", with a grant of £350 from the government,² met with a similar fate. The voluntary system, it seems, was experiencing difficulty in making good the deficiencies which had been revealed.

The government also was prompted to further action by the findings of the Statistical Societies. The Select Committee Report of 1838 paid tribute to the work that had been done by private individuals, but recognised the defects of the educational system

1. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853, pp. 38 - 39.

2. Ibid

as it then existed. It was decided, therefore, to modify the conditions of the grant in favour of the poorer districts.¹ The divisions, however, between those of liberal opinion who pressed for secular education under secular control on the one hand, and the Established Church and Dissenters on the other who claimed that education was a purely religious matter, made it difficult for the government to go much farther with state aid to education. A series of attempts was made in the late 1830's and 1840's by the governments of the day to increase their contribution to education, but all either failed or had to be modified in the face of religious opposition.

So intense were the feelings about the future of education, whether it should be primarily a secular or a religious concern, that the government decided to take a sideways step further into education. In April, 1839, by an Order in Council, a Special Committee of the Privy Council "for the consideration of all matters affecting the education of the people" was set up. Its first Minute of the 10th April, 1839, provided for the establishment of a State Training College with Model Schools attached, the appointment of two inspectors to inspect aided schools and the granting of aid to schools which were not necessarily those of the two Societies.

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p.73.

This was a modest measure but it was met with a storm of protest from supporters of religious education which was directed mainly against the plan for a State Training College. So great was the opposition that the scheme was dropped and the money allocated for this purpose, £10,000, passed to the National and British and Foreign School Societies. The educational grant for that year, £30,000, passed by only two votes and the address of protest against the establishment of the Committee was only narrowly defeated. The Committee of the Council continued as did the other features of its first Minute, but for a number of years the education question was allowed to lie.

In 1843 the government again tried to extend educational opportunity. Sir James Graham brought in a Factory Bill which tried to make the educational provisions of earlier measures more effective. It provided for the compulsory education of children in workhouses and those employed in textile factories, for at least three hours a day. Government loans were to be offered for the building of schools, their maintenance being charged on the local poor rate. The management was to be vested in seven trustees, composed of the clergymen and churchwardens, two trustees appointed by the magistrates, and two millowners. The schoolmaster was to be a member of the Church of England and his appointment was subject to the approval of the Bishop. Again there was a storm

of protest, this time from the Nonconformists who argued that the Bill favoured the Established Church, and the educational measures were dropped. Sir James Graham's Factory Act of 1844 was almost entirely concerned with hours of employment, though it did introduce the half-time system. Children between eight and thirteen had to spend either three whole days or six half-days at school and employers had to obtain a certificate from a schoolmaster, certifying that the child had attended school for the prescribed number of hours. Factory Inspectors were also empowered to inspect schools and disallow the certificates given by incompetent schoolmasters.¹

It was the feeling engendered by this issue which prompted the Dissenters of all kinds to combine as the "Voluntaryists"² to resist state interference in education. One of the foremost supporters of the voluntary system was Edward Baines, the son of the proprietor of the Leeds Mercury, who led the attack in the north against Graham's Bill. His arguments were presented in an open letter to Robert Peel entitled, The Social, Educational and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire. He examined in detail the religious and

1. Curtis, op. cit., pp.241/2.

2. Birchenough, op. cit., p.84.

educational state of the industrial areas in these counties in order to demonstrate that the situation was not as bad as those who pressed for more state interference in education maintained and to prove that the religious agencies could provide all that was needed. Baines came to four main conclusions. First, he showed that church and chapel accommodation was considerably greater in the areas surveyed than in many other areas. London he gave as having accommodation for 36% of the population, Westminster being able to accommodate only 30%, whilst in the north there was accommodation for 45% of the population.¹ Secondly, he demonstrated the superiority in Sunday school attendance with 1 in 5 $\frac{2}{3}$ of the population attending in Lancashire as opposed to 1 in 20 in London.² Thirdly, he claimed that 55% of Sunday school scholars could read the scriptures³ and finally pointed out that in the areas surveyed 1 in 10 of the population was being taught in a day school.⁴ He concluded by asking "if this is a state

1. Edward Baines, The Social and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire, p. 15.

2. Ibid, p.23.

3. Ibid, p. 24.

4. Ibid, pp. 25 - 26.

of things to create a panic in Parliament"¹.

Although, however, these figures were presented by Baines to support his case, in fact they reveal the stagnant state of education at this time. Whilst the Sunday schools enjoyed a tremendous popularity, they were not substitutes for regular day-time education which remained inadequate.² The School Boards in the 1870's accepted that day school places ought to be provided on the basis of places for one sixth of the total population.³ If this rule is accepted as being a fairly reasonable one, then Baines's figures, of schools attended by only one tenth of the population, are inadequate. His figure of 23,000 pupils at Manchester day schools is, in fact, an increase of only 3,000 over the figure for 1833.⁴ He further admitted that many of the Dame and Factory schools which were included in his estimates were inferior establishments which gave an education which was of little value.⁵

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1. Ibid, p.26.
 2. See pp. 185 - 187.
 3. See pp. 227 - 228.
 4. See p.23.
 5. Baines, op. cit., p.26.

Graham's controversial Bill had implications for the future of education in the mid-nineteenth century far beyond its original intention. It prompted a trial of strength between those who supported the voluntary system and those who supported state action, stimulating both sides, but especially the churches, to action. Manchester experienced, and for a time benefited from, this activity. At the end of 1843 the Dean of Manchester, the Hon. Dr. William Herbert, made an appeal for financial and other support for education and founded the Church Education Society¹ under a very active Secretary, the Rev. Charles Richson. The aims of this Society were to employ inspectors for all Church schools; to provide, organise and support schools to accommodate 300 children per 1000 of population; to help with the expenses of training teachers; to improve the existing schools; to appoint a committee to award prizes to teachers of the best schools and generally to help local exertions.² The achievements of this Society were considerable; its third annual report for 1846 listed

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1. A Chester Diocesan Board of Education was established in 1839 with similar aims.
 2. "A Sketch of some of the causes which, in Manchester, induced the abandonment of the voluntary system in the support of schools and the introduction of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill" Rev. C. Richson, 1851, pp. 12 - 13.

the following: two National Schools remodelled; £627 voted in three years to help schools in poor districts; 42 schools receiving financial aid, nine of these being new schools opened by the Society; a store of equipment built up for hire to schools; an association formed for the improvement of teachers; the National Schools made into practising schools for teachers; inspectors employed; and plans for further schools. ¹ This could be achieved by local enthusiasm well directed, but in 1846 Dr. Hook, the Vicar of Leeds, published his pamphlet, "On the means of rendering more effective the Education of the People", in which he argued that the voluntary system had failed to meet the educational needs, either in quantity or quality, of the times. He advocated a "combined" system whereby secular instruction should be given by the state and doctrinal instruction should be given on two afternoons a week and on Sundays by ² ministers of the different denominations.

This publication coincided with a period of economic depression in the Manchester area and enthusiasm for education declined. In 1847 the Special Committee of the Privy Council issued a Minute

1. Ibid, p.15.

2. Birchenough, op cit., p. 102.

which authorised the apprenticing of pupil teachers, provided Queen's Scholarships to Normal Schools and allocated grants and pensions to teachers and to schools of industry. It was aimed at stimulating the activities of the voluntary organisations, but it failed to revive enthusiasm in the Manchester area. The Church Education Society found it necessary to make urgent appeals for funds. The subscription list was reduced by death and the economic difficulties and in 1847 Dean Herbert died. Many of the revived schools ran into financial difficulties and were closed. Thus it would seem that educational advance in the mid-nineteenth century was dependent on economic prosperity, the life or death of individuals and local enthusiasm which could not be relied upon to give steady and continuous support.¹

Precise figures for the number of schools and school places² during the 1840's do not exist. The Manchester Guardian, which along with the rest of the local press at this time showed considerable interest in educational matters, complained in 1848 of the lack of

1. The following quotation referring to the state of education at this time supports this conclusion: " By 1850, it was obvious to the leaders of the Church of England in Salford and Manchester, that the voluntary system had failed to provide enough schools, or to maintain properly those schools which had been established." (A.V. Parsons, Education in the Salford District 1780 - 1870, Manchester University, M. Ed. Thesis, 1963, p.328).

2. Manchester Guardian, 26th January, 1848.

figures, maintaining that estimates at that time were simply guesses, additions to and corrections of returns obtained in the 1830's. The Manchester Guardian¹ also believed that when figures were collected they would show the unequal distribution of educational opportunity to which the voluntary system had given rise. In the country areas it pointed out that the gentry might establish schools, but it asked who there was to establish schools in poverty-stricken areas such as Salford or Ancoats. The activity that took place in the area in the late 1840's and early 1850's to improve education is in itself evidence of the inadequacies.

Some evidence of the state of education at this time can be gleaned from the Reports of the Inspectors appointed by the Special Committee of the Privy Council. This evidence has limitations during this period in that it examines, in the case of the north of England, a wide area covering Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland, and does not refer specifically to Manchester, and it deals only with the grant-receiving inspected schools; thus it is impossible to come to any firm conclusions with regard to the area under discussion. There are, however, clues to the situation in the area.

1. Manchester Guardian, 27th October, 1847.

The Reports presented by the Rev. Frederick Watkins are the most exhaustive at this time. Concerning the number of school places he was optimistic, writing in 1846 that the grants received over the last seven years had done much to increase the number of school places and that, in the case of the Church of England schools, many districts had far more accommodation than children on the rolls.¹ In 66 such schools in Lancashire he claimed that there was accommodation for 32,670 children but only 15,136 registered pupils.² Much of this excess accommodation was in schools built as Sunday schools specifically for the large attendance on Sundays. He claimed that the remaining problem concerning school accommodation lay with the ill balance, particularly in Manchester, of these schools, with densely populated working class districts without sufficient school places.³ He added, however, a note of caution when he wrote; "The most striking feature in that great and populous district is the insufficiency of pecuniary means not only to supply the educational wants of the people-day by day more deeply felt, and day by day more urgently expressed -

1. Reports and Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1844, pp. 430 - 1.

2. Ibid

3. Ibid

but also to support those schools which have already been erected, and which, it grieves me to say, are in many instances¹ existing rather than flourishing".

To Watkins the greatest problem was that of getting the children to school, yet for the area as a whole he gives attendance figures which vary from 60% to 70% attendance,² which, for Manchester, was a remarkably satisfactory figure not attained by the Manchester District School Boards until the late 1870's,³ though it must be realised that smaller numbers were involved. The position in the Manchester district seems, however, to have been below this average for the whole region and, out of a list of twelve schools where attendance was lowest, one was in Manchester with an attendance of 258 out of 459 on the register, and a second was in Salford with 100 out of 259. He condemned also the short time spent at school which was "far too brief for the great objects to be attempted in it,"⁴ but he indicated also that the average school life of the pupils in his district was often longer than was usually thought, averaging six years eight months. In the

1. Ibid, 1845, p.78.

2. Ibid, p. 81; Ibid, 1846, p.342.

3. See p. 223.

4. Reports and Minutes, op. cit., 1844, p.276.

manufacturing districts, however, the length of time spent at school was often much less than this, being usually in the region of one to two years. Salford had an average school life of five years, Bolton four and a half, Bury¹ three and a quarter and Blackburn less than one.

This poor attendance was due to poverty, not so much to the inability to find school fees, though these were often the first savings made in poor households, as to the need to send children to work and earn money. There was a general inability to see the long term financial advantages of keeping children at school.² In 1846 Watkins reported that attendance was better since trade was generally bad. This meant that although many could not pay school fees and consequently the number of children on the roll was less, those who did go to school attended regularly since there was no need to take them away to earn money or mind babies whilst parents were at work.³ He quoted Mr. H. Nield, the treasurer of the St. Anne's School in Manchester, one of the schools with the worst attendance record as saying "the greatest obstruction to the usefulness

1. Ibid, 1844, p.276.

2. Ibid, 1846, p. 435.

3. Ibid, p. 342.

of these schools, is the irregularity of attendance, arising perhaps less from the indifference of parents and children than from the desire of the parents to make something of the labour of their children, tempted as they are by the demands¹ in various trades for young hands".

In the summer of 1847 the inadequacies in the Manchester area prompted the formation of a committee to press for the establishment of a system of secular education in the area. It was the outcome of an accidental conversation between six local men, Jacob Bright, the younger brother of John Bright, Samuel Lucas, his brother-in-law, W.B. Hodgson, the Secretary of the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute and Headmaster of the Chorlton High School 1847 - 51, Alexander Ireland and Thomas Ballantyne, proprietors of the Manchester Examiner and Times, and the Rev. William McKerrow Minister at the Lloyd Street² Presbyterian Church. This committee developed into the Lancashire Public Schools Association which began to campaign on a large scale for radical changes in the educational system.

1. Ibid., 1844, p. 275.

2. S.E. Maltby, Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education 1800 to 1870, Manchester University Press, 1918, p. 67.

The committee argued that it was the right of every boy and girl to receive a good elementary education, that the present system was worthless but that state provided education was dangerous in that it could be used for political purposes. They accordingly reached the conclusion that progress could be achieved on the one hand and the dangers avoided on the other, by placing the control of education in the hands of bodies representing large local areas which would tax themselves to make good the deficiencies.¹ Early in 1848 the Association petitioned Parliament that "an act may be passed for the establishment of a general system of secular education throughout the county palatine of Lancashire, to be supported by local rates and managed by local authorities elected by the ratepayers specially for the purpose".² The Bill failed to make headway and the Lancashire Public Schools Association developed in 1850 into the National Public Schools Association which continued to press unsuccessfully for such a measure. The Association remained active until 1855 and was finally wound up in 1862.³

1. Ibid

2. Manchester Guardian, 22nd January, 1848.

3. Maltby, op cit., p. 81.

Whilst the National Public Schools Association continued to campaign for the establishment of a system of secular education, the advocates of the existing system formed the Manchester and Salford Committee on Education, to extend education by linking a system of local rating with the existing organisation. A Private Bill was framed, applicable only to Manchester and Salford, which proposed the levying of a sixpence rate in aid of existing schools which were to be free, but subject to a conscience clause. The management was to continue as before and the rate was to be administered by the Town Councils through the denominational managers.¹

Both the schemes of the National Public Schools Association and the Manchester and Salford Committee were referred to a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1852. The Committee was appointed "to inquire into the State of Education in the Municipal Boroughs of Manchester and Salford and in the contiguous Townships of Broughton, Pendleton and Pendlebury and whether it is advisable to make any further provision and in what manner for the Education of the Inhabitants within such Boroughs and Townships".²

1. Maltby, op. cit., p. 84.

2. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853.

In fact the Committee never came to any official conclusion, nor did it report on the second half of its brief,¹ but it is clear from the evidence that the position in the area was unsatisfactory.

One of the witnesses who featured largely in the Committee's Reports was the Rev. Charles Richson, the Secretary of the Church Education Society, who, since 1844, had been actively engaged in the educational affairs of Manchester. He was an insatiable collector of facts and figures and his evidence covers 112 closely-printed foolscap pages and includes 37 tables dealing with such problems as the size of the child population, numbers attending the various kinds of schools, the income of parents, the amount of floor space per child and the rate of increase of school places. He distilled his evidence and conclusions into a pamphlet published in 1852 entitled: The Present State of the Education of Poor Children in Manchester.

Much of his evidence was concerned with demonstrating that accommodation in the Manchester district was in excess of what

1. Ibid, Motion passed 26th May, 1853, "That the Evidence be reported without any opinion thereon, to the House."

could reasonably be required for many years to come. He produced figures showing that, on a basis of eight square feet per child, Manchester, Salford and the outlying townships had accommodation for 56,144 children, 21,795 places were in use, 19,701 were surplus whilst 14,648 could readily be made available.¹ This he claimed was ample accommodation for a child population likely to want such schools, aged four to ten of 44,528² and an average attendance of some 34,000.³

This evidence, however, like that which Baines presented in 1843, seems to defeat the position it was trying to defend. It is clear that Richson was not thinking in terms of a school place for each child of school age or anything near this. His evidence revealed that whilst the child population aged between four and ten was less than the number of places, the child population aged between four and fifteen in Manchester and Salford, was 77,585,⁴ greatly in excess of these places,

1. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 21st June, 1852, p. 36, Table XII.

2. Ibid.

Richson included all children living in houses assessed at £18 p.a. or below.

3. See Table IV, p. 68.

4. Select Committee Report, op. cit., p. 36. Table XII.

whilst if the age range was extended from three to fifteen¹ the child population increased to just over 99,000. If the child population for which schools should be made available in Manchester alone, estimated at 65,000 or one sixth of the population of 387,000, is considered, then the total accommodation² given as 44,109, was deficient by about 20,000 places.

Richson's evidence was quite clear on the problem of attendance. One of the Commissioners, Mr. Peto, perhaps prejudging the issue, said to Richson: "After all is not your great difficulty to obtain the attendance of the children at school?"³ Table IV, compiled by the Manchester Statistical Society from Richson's evidence, indicates the problem of attendance with some 44% of the child population of Manchester roaming the streets and only one third attending schools. The Manchester Statistical Society was in fact highly critical of the assumptions Richson made with regard to the number of children

1. Many children at this time began to attend school at three to free the mother so that she could go to work.

See The Present State of Education of Poor Children in Manchester.

2. Select Committee Report, op. cit., p. 36, Table XII.

3. See page 68.

of the middle class receiving private education and the number of children at work. They were only assumptions and might well serve to inflate the total number of children who were profitably occupied. The problem was again made worse by the fact that many children did not attend the same school for long, their own fancies and their parents' changes of address and moods producing frequent changes with corresponding damage to the children's education. Many children changed schools every five months.

Richson further investigated the reasons why parents did not send their children to the schools which were available. He visited 17,426 families with a total number of children aged between three and fifteen of 36,527, 17,177 of these not being at school. Sickness accounted for 905 absences, domestic factors for 896, the indifference of parents accounted for a further 639, whilst 2,670 were considered by their parents to be too young. This left 12,067 not attending school because of poverty which, Richson maintained, was mainly due to the improvidence or intemperance of parents.

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1. Select Committee Report, op. cit., p. 58.
 2. The Present State of the Education of Poor Children in Manchester.

Table IV The number of children attending school in 1852, compiled by the Manchester Statistical Society from the evidence of the Rev. Charles Richson presented to the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) June 1852. Reproduced from Manchester Statistical Society Reports, Appendix.

Total number of children in Manchester and Salford aged 3 to 15.		99,193
Children attending school.	34,073	
Children not attending school but supposed to belong to the middle and upper classes, at home, receiving private education.	10,450	
Children assumed to be at work.	11,728	
Total number of children at school, receiving private education or at work.		56,251
Children of all classes not at work and not at school.		42,942

Another eminent figure who gave evidence before the Select Committee was Joseph Adshead, a Manchester Councillor and a Sunday School Superintendent, who was appointed to give evidence by the Congregational Committee on Education. Like Richson, he, too, published his findings and evidence in the form of a collection of tables entitled The State of Education in the Borough of Manchester 1852, Tables and Documents relative to Evidence to be given by Joseph Adshead of Manchester. Again two notable facts merge from his evidence, the size of the child population not receiving adequate education and the failure of educational opportunity to keep pace with the increase in population. He estimated that only 33²/₃% of the child population was attending school at all regularly, over 11% was working, leaving 55% not at school or work, a small proportion of these being under three. He acknowledged that many of these children would attend Sunday School and so could not be classed as completely uneducated. ¹ Using the Manchester Statistical Society figures he calculated that in 1834 there were school places for 1 in 10 of the population. According to the 1851 Census figures he calculated that the proportion had increased ² to 1 in 11¹/₂.

1. The State of Education op. cit.

2. See Table V p. 70.

Table V showing the population, number of scholars, increase in population and ratio of scholars to population in 1834 to 1851, compiled by Joseph Adshead (Table 22 State of Education in Manchester 1852).

AREA	1834			1852			
	Population	Scholars	To Population	Population	Pop. inc %	Scholars	To Population
Manchester	142,026	12,927	or 1 in 10	186,986	32 $\frac{1}{3}$ %	15,886	or 1 in 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hulme	9,624	1,189	or 1 in 8	53,143	452 $\frac{1}{5}$ %	4,712	or 1 in 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ardwick } Beswick }	5,772	659	or 1 in 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,181	135 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	1,074	or 1 in 15
Cheetham	4,925	733	or 1 in 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	11,175	177 $\frac{2}{3}$ %	1,193	or 1 in 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Chorton-cum-Medlock	20,569	2,721	or 1 in 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	35,558	24 $\frac{1}{5}$ %	3,275	or 1 in 11

The Select Committee did not come to an official conclusion or make recommendations, but it is evident from this and all the other earlier inquiries, whether made by the "education mad" party or those who supported the voluntary system, that the educational state of the Manchester district was unsatisfactory. It was also becoming increasingly evident that improvement on the necessary scale could only come about through an increase in state support and encouragement of education. Perhaps, however, it would be just to conclude this section with the arguments put forward by Edward Baines who once again in 1854, leapt to the defence of the voluntary system in the face of the attacks of the National Public Schools Association.

In a pamphlet entitled: Education best promoted by Perfect Freedom not by State Endowment, he agreed that there was a strong case in favour of government education arising out of the ability of Parliament to command resources and organise schools, but he warned of the dangers of excessive government interference. He claimed that it would, as in many continental countries affect public liberty, freedom of teaching and the influence of parents over their children. A precedent having been set, state control might extend to the pulpit and the press. Self-help in education on the other hand was not only to the moral and social advantage

of the people, but was achieving such results " as to afford grounds for confident reliance that they will be able and disposed to complete the work." He concluded:

"To the Government and Parliament I would humbly say - Throw the people on their own resources in Education, as you did in Industry, and be assured that, in a nation so full of intelligence and spirit, Freedom and Competition will give the same stimulus to improvement in our schools as they have done in our manufactures, our husbandry, our shipping, and our commerce," It remains for the rest of this chapter to examine how far this happened in the next fifteen years.

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1. Education best promoted by Perfect Freedom, op. cit., p.44.
 2. Ibid, p. 45.

B. The Newcastle Commission in Lancashire.

The widespread concern about the state of education in the late 1850's resulted in the setting up of the Newcastle Commission in 1858: "To inquire into the present state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people". The country was divided up into ten representative districts and ten assistant commissioners were appointed to investigate the state of education in these districts. Two of these districts were agricultural, one in the east, the other in the west, two were mining districts, two maritime, two metropolitan and there were two manufacturing districts, one in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, the other in the Midlands. The Commission reported in 1861 and came to the conclusion that the chief features of the existing system should remain. It reported with modified approval that 1 in 7.7 of the population was being educated in day schools and compared this proportion favourably with the situation which existed in other European countries. The Report

criticised, however, the quality of the education provided, early leaving and poor attendance. The Commissioners' most important recommendations were that the existing system should be maintained and that efficiency and attendance should be improved by the awarding of grants according to the standard of the school. Thus there came into being the system of "payment by results".

The Report was not unanimous and was not received with universal enthusiasm and approval. In many quarters its statistics were challenged and its reports were regarded as untrustworthy. The nature and findings of the inquiry held in the Lancashire area, therefore, deserve careful examination.

The choice of the sample district for Lancashire, the town of Rochdale, was in many ways a poor one and it is difficult to understand why it should have been chosen.

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p.112.

No reason for the selection was given beyond the general statement that in choosing the districts to be surveyed by the Assistant Commissioners, the Commissioners "took into account the principal circumstances which seemed likely to influence the general social conditions of the population, and especially its condition in respect of education." ¹ In discussing the division of England into districts the Report pointed out that there were two great manufacturing districts, one of them being Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. This region lay between the four great towns of Sheffield, Leeds, Preston and Liverpool. ² Having declared this the Commission chose Rochdale to represent industrial Lancashire.

This seems a strange choice since the population of Rochdale in 1851 was only 33,000. The whole of the Rochdale Poor Law Union, including the town and a large

1. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England in 1861 (hereinafter called the Newcastle Report), Vol. 1, p.8.

2. Ibid, p.9.

rural area, had a population of only 72,515, though the Assistant Commissioner appointed to Rochdale, J.S. Winder, thought that 86,000 would be a more realistic figure, basing his conclusions on an examination of the rate books and "other sources of information." ¹ Manchester and Salford, on the other hand, had a combined population of over 400,000 upon which to base a sample survey. Rochdale was and still is geographically and economically more easily identified with the West Riding of Yorkshire than Lancashire. It is only five miles from the West Riding, standing on the foothills of the Pennines and some of the outlying townships such as Littleborough with their surrounding hamlets are only just on the Lancashire side of the boundary. In 1858 it had as many woollen as cotton factories. Socially, also, it was not typical of the area since, as Winder admits, it was an ill-balanced community in that it was almost completely a working-class community. This class was almost entirely dependent on the cotton and woollen manufacture and the factories in which these industries were situated, there being few of the host of minor trades and occupations found in such towns as Manchester and Salford.²

1. Ibid, Vol2. p. 176.

2. Ibid, pp. 176 and 178.

Within the area, Sheffield, Leeds, Preston and Liverpool, there must surely have been a town which was more typical of Lancashire with a larger population. Yet the detailed findings for the Rochdale area were taken as representative of industrial Lancashire.

Of the educational state of Rochdale, Winder wrote: "Up to a short time ago hardly any means of public instruction existed except Sunday schools and the habits of the people were in the highest degree uncivilised and rude."¹ By 1851 there were 115 schools with 7,796 scholars on their rolls and by 1858/9 this number had increased to 135 schools and 10,645 scholars. This expressed as a proportion of children to the total population was 1 in 9.3 in 1851 and 1 in 8.07 by 1858/9.² If the children going outside the area to school were counted, the overall figure was 11,053 giving a proportion of 1 in 7.78, though to get this higher figure 389 pupils who went to post-elementary schools were included.³ Winder

1. Ibid, p. 176.

2. Ibid, p. 197.

3. Ibid.

was well satisfied with, even complacent about, these figures. He concluded that "considerable progress has been made, both absolutely and relative to the increased population."¹

A closer examination of these figures, however, reveals considerable deficiencies. If the proportion of school places for one sixth of the population, the proportion later adopted by the School Boards, is accepted then accommodation ought to have been available for some 14,000 children if Winder's highest estimate of the population of Rochdale is taken. In predominantly working-class areas such as Rochdale, however, it was more usual to set the standard at places for one fifth of the population, thus giving a figure of 17,000 places required. In the Rochdale area, therefore, at this time there was, if these standards are accepted, as they subsequently were, a deficiency of school accommodation ranging from 3,000 to 6,000.

Winder in fact did not inquire into the exact number of children who were not at school. Although he raised the

1. Ibid, p. 180.

question he did not answer it adequately. His attitude towards this very important issue seems to have been one of masterly neglect. His comments on this problem are worth repeating at length. "The general impression which I found to exist amongst well informed persons is that this evil (children not going to school) is rare, and that it is steadily diminishing. Still it does exist to a certain extent, though how far it is impossible to say without an exhaustive enumeration of the people."¹ Such an "exhaustive enumeration" should have been one of the main objects of the inquiry. He continued "My own enquiries, which were rather extensive, would lead me to believe that amongst the respectable working men in the town, this absolute neglect is almost unknown and that so much of it as there may be is confined almost exclusively to the lowest immigrant Irish, who prefer that their children should beg, to a few of the degraded class brutalised by profligacy and poverty and to the more ignorant of the colliers."² He admitted that he could not "state with precision what proportion of the population are growing up in this condition."³ It would

1. Ibid, p. 181. My underlining.

2. Ibid

3. Ibid

seem that those who did not go to school were those who ought above all others to have been brought into the educational system. The extent of this problem should have been closely examined. The only figures which Winder produced to prove his contention that there were only a few children not receiving education were based on an inquiry made amongst 1,825 scholars at evening schools. He found only 52, or 2.85%, of these had never¹ been to day school. It is doubtful if these figures can be representative of the area since they are so much lower than the proportions in the Manchester area as immediately to arouse suspicion. Rochdale seems to have been exceptional in providing day time elementary education for its poorer classes.

The number of scholars in Rochdale was in fact inflated by the inclusion of half-timers, some 3,540 of them, who attended the Factory Schools.² Such attendance was clearly better than no school at all, but must not be considered as a substitute for full-time education, especially when

1. Ibid, p.181.

2. Ibid, p.184.

the doubtful nature of the Factory Schools is considered. Rochdale, of course, was not unique in the use of the half-time system and Factory Schools, but the nature of the industry, based almost exclusively as it was on factory work which employed almost all the population, meant that a much larger proportion would attend under such a system than would be the case in an area which had a more mixed economy with smaller workshops which did not have to comply with the Factory Acts. Winder himself expressed doubts as to the value of these Factory Schools, maintaining that they were often simply there to comply with the regulations and since their finances depended on the factory owners who had established them, there was little check on their standards. He set out the problem in full as follows: "Hence if a mill springs up in a remote district, where the population is insufficient to maintain a public school, either the millowner must himself provide one, or, as is more usual, a private master, under the patronage of the millowner, sets up in the immediate neighbourhood for the single purpose of granting the necessary certificate. _____

_____ If it comes up to the very moderate requirements of the Factory Inspectors, it may defy competition and disregard remonstrance."¹

1. Ibid

Attendance seems to have been rather better in Rochdale¹ than elsewhere in the district, running at about 85% of the children on the register. Again this higher than average attendance may be traced to the predominance of the factory system which enforced attendance at school as a preliminary requirement before a job could be obtained. The reliance on the Factory Schools led to frequent changes of school as the child changed his school with changes in employment.²

Winder reported that many Rochdale schoolmasters complained of the frivolous excuses given by parents for keeping their children from school, but he felt that much of the teacher's anger was unrealistic and misplaced pointing out the necessity with poor families of keeping children at home on certain occasions. He did, however, suggest three steps which had been taken in certain areas and could well be employed in Rochdale to improve attendance, the payment of three months' fees in advance, presenting prizes for 200 or more attendances and visits to the homes of absentees immediately after the roll call.³

A further qualification of the apparent success of the

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1. Ibid, p. 188.
 2. Ibid
 3. Ibid

voluntary system in Rochdale was the fact that much of the increase that had taken place was in the field of private schools,¹ the great majority of which were of little value. The Dame Schools, like most such schools were simply nurseries. The superior day schools were "ephemeral" institutions and anyone

Table VI Schools and scholars in Rochdale 1851 to 1858/59. Taken from Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p.197.

Date	Schools			Scholars		
	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private
1851	115	38	77	7,796	4,852	2,944
1858/9	135	35	100 (including 30 Factory Schools)	10,645	6,808	3,837

1. See Table VI.

could teach in them who had the "audacity" to attempt.¹ There
were 30 Factory Schools² which, as has been pointed out, were
only of minimal value.

This seems flimsy evidence upon which to base a representative
picture of the state of education in industrial Lancashire. Yet
this investigation extended the life of the voluntary system
by a further ten years.³ E.G. West used the Newcastle figures
to support his argument that the voluntary system adequately
provided for the educational needs of the nineteenth century.
He maintains that the investigation deserves serious consideration
because it was the first directed entirely and purposefully to
a survey of schooling.⁴ So far as Manchester was concerned
this was patently untrue. There were the exhaustive inquiries
of the Manchester Statistical Society which covered the Manchester
area in the 1830's and the investigations of the Parliamentary
Select Committee in 1852. West comments also on the improvements

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1. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, pp. 182 to 106.
 2. Ibid, p. 184.
 3. E.G. West, op. cit., Chapter 10 "The Rise and Fall of 19th
Century Private Schools" pp. 140 to 144.
 4. Ibid, p. 140.

in statistical method employed by the Commission, in
particular the use of intensive sample surveys. This¹
too is open to criticism so far as Lancashire is concerned.

1. E.G. West, op. cit., p. 140.

C. The Failure of the Voluntary System 1861 - 1870.

The Revised Code which the Government adopted in 1862 as a result of the Newcastle Commission's recommendations did little to increase the quantity of education in Manchester. Government grants affected mainly those who were already at school, improving the quality and length of education, but scarcely touching the hard core of children who remained completely outside the voluntary day school system. After the activity in Manchester in the 1850's, there again arose organisations in the mid 1860's to press for the improvement of the educational system. Although Manchester had not been included as one of the representative samples for Lancashire by the Newcastle Commission there was no lack of statistics available to help and encourage them in their efforts.

Foremost amongst the fact finders of this period was Edward Brotherton, a Manchester business man who believed that the educational position in Manchester was getting worse. To prove his suspicions he personally conducted a survey in the Deansgate area of Manchester, one of the districts with the best school provision. This was a much more convincing sample survey than the Newcastle survey. He came to the conclusion based on very convincing evidence, that 50,000 children in Manchester and Salford, over 60%, should have

been at school but were not. Allowing for mistakes and an enthusiasm for proving his point, this indicates the inability of the voluntary system to educate the children who needed education. He firmly believed that this fact was at the root of most of the social evils of the time. He reported his findings in January 1864 in a series of seven letters in the Manchester Guardian¹ and afterwards published these letters in a pamphlet entitled: The Present State of Popular Education in Manchester and Salford.

According to the 1861 Census there were 6,471 children aged $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ in Deansgate. Of these 1,980 went to eight schools of a reasonable standard, two of which had been highly praised by the inspectorate. The reputation of the schools at Peter Street (New Jerusalem) and Lower Moseley Street (Unitarian) was so high that they drew many of their pupils from outside the district. He estimated that a further 200 went to Dame Schools and other private schools of doubtful standard, whilst a further 200 went to schools outside the district. This gave a total of 2,380 children attending day school, leaving 4,091 who did not. Further detailed investigations revealed even more startling results. One street of 14 houses contained 40 children, only three of

1. Manchester Guardian, 5th to 27th January, 1864.

them going to school with one at work and the rest un-occupied. In another court with 16 children, only one went to school. He traced an area with a population of 40/50,000 with only one small school. In two others, what he considered to be typical, districts there was a child population under 15 of 273, 84 going to school, 14 going to work, 44 being too young for school, leaving 127 neither at school nor at work.

These letters resulted in the formation of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society in February 1864,¹ with the Mayor, J.M. Bennett as President and Brotherton himself as Secretary. The aim of the Society was "the general education of the poor upon such principles as may unite members of all denominations in a common effort",² this to be done by paying the fees of pupils in existing schools and, when possible, establishing new schools. At last it seemed as if the religious controversy was to be laid aside in a united effort to expand education. In its first Report the Society claimed that it had "already won the confidence of all denominations and in this fact lies its chief value".³ As well as helping children to go to school, the Society also

1. See S.E. Maltby, op. cit., pp. 95 - 96.

2. Education Aid Society, First Report, 1865, p. 15.

3. Ibid, p. 11.

collected statistics for a much wider area than that covered by Brotherton.

By the end of its second year, in 1866, the Society came to the conclusion that it could not succeed in its task of educating the poorer classes in Manchester and that this failure reflected the failure of the voluntary system.¹ The vast majority of children aged between three and 12, it claimed, were neither at school nor at work, that the amount of illiteracy was very great and that the Society could not possibly bring more than two fifths of the neglected children into school, mainly because of parental apathy. Parents would not send their children to school even if they could afford the fees. The Society was already paying the fees of 13,180 children, but only 7,200 of these attended school; many others would not even accept the Societies grants.² Commenting on the progress made since the Revised Code, the Society wrote: "whatever advance in Education has been made by means of the Revised Code, it has been in a lateral direction rather than downwards. The quality of instruction has been stimulated among a class already possessing the means of rudimentary knowledge, but the

1. Education Aid Society, Second Report, 1866, p. 10.

2. Ibid

substratum of ignorance has scarcely been penetrated by the government aid.¹ The concluding paragraph of the Second Report declared: "The Committee believe that they have proved that no private or voluntary effort can reach the depths of this evil in the social constitution and that further legislation is urgently needed ² such legislation as shall boldly seek to provide, and so far as possible secure, the primary education of every child in our great community."

In October 1866 the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences, an organisation which aimed at bringing together social reformers working in isolation, held its annual conference in Manchester.² The Manchester Education Aid Society presented a special paper to the Education Section of the conference entitled:

By what means can the impediments to the education of children of the manual labour class, arising from the apathy or poverty of parents and the claims of the market for labour, be most effectively removed? The paper included detailed figures based on the Society's own inquiries relating to children at school at the end of

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1. Education Aid Society, Third Report, 1867, p. 15.
 2. Manchester Guardian, 5th October, 1866.

1865. 7,650 families were visited with 23,998 children; 7,804 of these were over twelve, 5,098 were under three, leaving 11,086 of school age. Of these 4,537 were at school, 762 were at work, leaving 5,787 neither at school nor at work. Only about 40% of the sample were at school. If these figures were typical of other centres of population, the paper continued, it was evidence that the education of the lower classes was not increasing. It concluded that government grants had done much good "in raising the standard of knowledge imparted at public schools and in providing well-trained and certificated teachers. But the lowest classes remained untouched and did not benefit from the government grants, in as much as these grants acted chiefly as a bounty upon children already at school, and did not provide fees for those who were unable to pay for themselves. Thus the government grants were almost wholly absorbed by the upper grades of the industrious orders, the children of the lower sections being excluded." The Chairman of the meeting, H. Austin Bruce M.P., said after the paper that the value of the Education Aid Society lay not so much in the aid it gave to pupils as the "flood of light thrown upon the state of the

1. Ibid

working populations of our large towns." ¹

The supporters of the voluntary system tried to refute these figures and conclusions by claiming that the problem had been exaggerated. The most notable attack at this time was made by the Rev. Joseph Nunn, the Curate and later Rector of St. Thomas's Church, Ardwick. At the end of 1866 he produced a pamphlet entitled: Facts and Fallacies on the Condition of Popular Education in Manchester, in which he attached in particular figures produced by the Education Aid Society in 1865 which estimated a school age population of 104,000 with 55,000 at school, leaving a deficiency of 49,000 and further criticised poor and brief attendance.

Nunn put forward four points aimed at showing that the Education Aid Society was being unrealistic in its reasoning. First of all he questioned the age range of the school age population which the Society had extended from three to fifteen. With some justification he questioned the age of three as a starting point as being too young, pointing out that most better class families did not send their children to school until the age of seven in some cases. It should be pointed out, however, that economic circumstances often made it necessary for a poor family to place a child of three in some kind of nursery or school in order to free the mother

1. Ibid

for work. With less justification he thought that twelve was a reasonable upper limit and considered it unfair that children should be prevented from working below this. Secondly, he claimed that six years of schooling was adequate as compared with the minimum of nine years suggested by the Education Aid Society. Thirdly he pointed out that there were often perfectly good reasons for children not being at school and that they should not automatically be classed as neglected. Finally he criticised at length the comparison of the educational state of Manchester with that of other countries, notably Prussia where there were school places for more than 1 in 5 of the population. To bring Manchester up to this standard 23,000 places would be needed he pointed out. This standard he maintained was too high and the comparison unfair since education was compulsory in Prussia and the demand for child labour high in Manchester. His subsequent calculations revealed, however, that to achieve a more reasonable standard of 1 in 6, the standard subsequently adopted, 15,000 places would be required.

Nunn was trying to show that the existing system was coping reasonably well and that its short comings were not as serious as many believed them to be. Yet once again we find that figures produced by the defenders of the system

reveal deficiencies which, if lower than their opponents estimated, were nevertheless very real deficiencies.

The Education Aid Society was responsible for the formation of the Manchester Education Bill Committee, one of the three great organisations which were established in the late 1860's to improve the educational position and to inform public opinion of the pressing needs in education. The Educational Aid Society called a meeting at Manchester Town Hall on the 6th December, 1866, when the following resolution was passed: "That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to complete provision for the primary instruction of the children of the poorer classes by means of local rates, under local administration with legal power, in cases of neglect, to enforce attendance at school." ¹ It was decided to petition Parliament to this effect and to prepared and promote such a Bill. A similar process took place in Birmingham where the Birmingham Education Aid Society and its investigations prompted the formation of the Birmingham Education League in October 1869. ² In opposition to these two organisations which aimed at providing secular

1. Maltby, op. cit., p. 106.

2. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 120.

education, on similar lines as that eventually established by the 1870 Act, the National Education Union was founded with branches at Manchester and Birmingham.¹ These Unions believed that education could still develop along existing lines, but they had little chance of turning back the rising tide of facts and figures which were proving without doubt that more direct state intervention in education was essential.

The formation of these organisations and the controversy which resulted prompted Parliament to order an inquiry in 1869 into the condition of education in four large centres of population, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham. Sir Joshua Fitch conducted the inquiry in Leeds and Birmingham, whilst D.R. Fearon was responsible for Manchester and Salford. The inquiry had to consider in particular the quality and quantity of those schools which catered for the poorer classes. There were, in fact, only ten schools in Manchester which lay outside these terms of reference.² The results of this inquiry

1. Ibid., p. 121.

2. Report on the provision of education for the poorer classes of children within the boundaries of the municipal Borough of Manchester January 1870 (hereinafter called the Fearon Report), p. 125.

served to confirm the findings of the many private and official investigations which had been conducted in Manchester during this period.

Fearon concluded that there were between 53,271 and 61,815¹ children from poor homes of school age in Manchester and, taking into account schools of all kinds, inspected and uninspected, those of a satisfactory and those of a doubtful quality, catering for this class, there were 49,974 children on the rolls. It is significant in view of the repeated claims that there was ample school accommodation that this figure was 4,300 greater than the accommodation available, calculating accommodation on the basis of eight square feet per child.

1. For these and subsequent figures and conclusions see Fearon Report, p. 150.

Table VII Fearon's findings regarding the state of education for poor children in Manchester in 1869.

	Highest estimate	Lowest estimate
Number of poor children	61,815	53,271
Number on roll of schools of all kinds	40,974	40,974
Deficiency of school places	20,841	12,297
Accommodation in efficient (inspected) schools	35,783	35,783
Deficiency of efficient places	26,032	17,488
Number on roll of efficient (inspected) schools	32,630	32,630
Deficiency on roll of efficient schools	29,185	20,641
Average attendance in efficient schools	21,437	21,437

This gives a deficiency of 20,841 if the highest estimate of the child population is accepted and 12,297 if the lowest figure is taken. Accommodation in efficient or inspected schools, however, was for only 35,783, with 32,630 on the rolls, which gives a deficiency of accommodation of 26,032 or 17,488 places and a deficiency in terms of children on the rolls of 29,185 or 20,641. Fearon also criticised the poor distribution of the schools which, in particularly underprivileged areas would tend to make the situation even worse. They were distributed, he wrote, on the basis of the location of congregations rather than the need for them. The problem was further aggravated by poor attendance with an average attendance in inspected schools of 21,437.

Once again Nunn leapt to the defence of the voluntary system in a pamphlet entitled: Strictures on the Reports on Education in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds presented to the House of Commons by Messrs. J.G. Fitch and D.R. Fearon in 1870. Whilst admitting that the returns had been carefully collected, he claimed that they had been applied incorrectly. He once again criticised the interpretation of the phrase "children of school age" and again pointed out that children who, for a good reason, were not at school, were not neglected. He claimed that

compulsion in education would simply make people comply with the letter of the law and diminish parental responsibility. As so many earlier inquiries had shown, however, parental responsibility was obviously lacking, either through sheer ignorance and negligence, or as a result of the pressure of poverty.

Such was the situation in the Manchester area on the eve of the 1870 Education Act. It was obvious, even allowing for exaggeration, deliberate or by mistake or possibly the result of eagerness to prove a point, from the many inquiries that had been made since 1833, that in Manchester the voluntary system was not educating large numbers of children who needed education. The system did not touch that hard and massive core of lower-class children who remained completely untouched by the civilising influence of the day schools. Indeed many of those who did receive education, went to schools which provided an education which could have been of little value in life.

Table VIII showing the percentage (or proportion in terms of total population) of the child population at day school in the Manchester area 1833 to 1870.

Date	Source	Page reference	Area covered	Percentage or proportion at school
1833	Manchester Statistical Society	pp.22/23	Manchester	approx. 40%
1835	Ibid	pp.43/44	Pendleton	approx. 58%
1838	Ibid	pp.43/44	Pendleton	approx. 51%
1835/36	Ibid	pp.23/24	Liverpool	approx. 42%
1844	Edward Baines	p.52	Industrial Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire	1 in 10
1846	Rev. Frederick Watkins	p.58	66 schools in Lancashire	15,136 on roll out of places for 32,670.
1851	Joseph Adshead	p.69	Manchester and immediate neighbourhood	1 in 11½
1852	Rev. Charles Richson	p.66	Manchester and Salford	approx. 33½%

Date	Source	Page reference	Area covered	Percentage or proportion at school
1858/61	Newcastle Commission	p.73	England	1 in 7.7
1858/61	Ibid	p.77	Rochdale	1 in 8.07 or 1 in 7.78
1862	Manchester Statistical Society based on 1861 Census	-	Manchester and Salford	approx. 44%
1864	Edward Brotherton	pp.86/87	Manchester and Salford	approx. 40%
1865	Education Aid Society	p.91	Manchester	approx. 40%
1869	Fearon	p.97	Manchester	approx. 57% in efficient schools

Table IX showing the reasons for unsatisfactory attendance
1833 to 1870.

Date	Source	Area	Nature of problem	Main reason(s)	Number affected
1838	Manchester Statistical Society	Pendleton	(a) absenteeism	(a) poverty (b) need to work to earn or be useful at home.	(a) 265 out of 665. (b) 113 out of 665.
			(b) brief attendance	Ibid	$\frac{1}{3}$ less than 3 years $\frac{1}{3}$ 3 to 5 years $\frac{1}{3}$ 5 + years
1846	Rev. Frederick Watkins	Manchester and Salford	(a) absenteeism	Need to work to earn money and failure to appreciate long term advantages of education.	(a) Manchester and Salford schools amongst worst in Northern Division.
			(b) brief attendance		(b) Salford = 5 years a.v Bolton = $4\frac{1}{2}$ years a.v Bury = $3\frac{1}{4}$ years a.v Blackburn = less than 1 year

Date	Source	Area	Nature of problem	Main reason(s)	Number affected
1852	Rev. Charles Richson	Manchester and Salford	absenteeism	(a) sickness (b) domestic factors (c) indifference (d) poverty	(a) 905 (b) 896 (c) 639 (d) 12,067 out of 17,177
1858/61	Newcastle Commission	England	brief attendance		6 years average
1858/61	Ibid	Rochdale	absenteeism		85% attendance
1866	Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society	Manchester and Salford	failure to attend even when fees were paid	parental apathy	7,200 out of 13,180 for whom fees were paid only could be brought to school
1869	Fearon	Manchester and Salford			average attendance 21,437 out of 32,630

D. Post-elementary education.

The state of Education which went beyond that of a purely elementary character also left much to be desired at this time. The first half of the nineteenth century saw the development in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire of a large and prosperous middle class. This class was made up of the factory owners, by the mid-century a class clearly distinguishable from the operative class from which they had only recently arisen, of various degrees of prosperity. Their ranks were swollen from below by a considerable number of salesmen, clerical workers and warehousemen who considered themselves socially superior to the factory workers, and by the professional classes in the larger towns. The Schools Inquiry Commission, estimated that in 1866 Manchester and Salford alone had at least 5,000 children belonging to this class who¹ needed suitable school places, whilst in the² outlying manufacturing districts there were almost 11,000,

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1. Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission 1868, Vol. IX, p. 713.
 2. Ibid, p. 753.

These calculations were based on a proportion of 9 in every 1,000 of the population.

not counting those who were simply sent to the local elementary schools and these who were sent to boarding schools outside the district.

This class produced its own peculiar educational problems with a large number of children who required education of a post-elementary character which would fit them for their future employment and their social position. Yet the concept the middle-class had of what constituted a suitable education was a very narrow one and it was this which seriously hindered the development of an efficient educational system to cater for their needs. They had no time for liberal education; everything had to be related to business and making money, and they did not favour a long stay at school since they were anxious to start their sons in business early, as they themselves had done. James Bryce's assessment of what the average middle-class father wanted for his son is worth quoting at length: "I want my boy to write a good clear hand and to add up figures quickly. I want him to spell correctly and to know enough history and geography and all that sort of thing and not to seem ignorant in society. As for other matters, I suppose he must learn what the school teaches while he stops there, but it is by his own

shrewdness and activity that I expect him to get on, and none of these ornamental things that he learns will make any difference to that. Too much schooling more often mars a man of business than it makes him."¹

The Schools Inquiry Commission, appointed in 1864 under the chairmanship of Lord Taunton to investigate schools which had escaped the inquiries of the Newcastle and Clarendon Commissions, identified four kinds of schools and institutions which catered for the needs of this class, with varying degrees of success, in the Manchester district. None of them was completely successful in providing a suitable education and all suffered from the current narrow concept of education.

Catering for the needs of the lowest ranks of the middle-class were the better quality elementary schools, mainly those supported by the British and National Societies. In the less sophisticated towns in the district it was not only the less prosperous who sent their children to these schools. Many quite wealthy manufacturers considered that these schools provided an adequate education since

1. Ibid, p. 714.

they taught the 3 R's fairly efficiently and were not concerned with other subjects, the significance of which parents, who themselves lacked education, could not understand. They could not see a connection between a liberal education and wealth and therefore did not want it. Bryce quoted a case of a girl who had been left £50,000 in her father's will but when her mother was advised to give the child an education which would fit her for her new social position, she indignantly replied¹ that the National School was quite adequate.

Next in rank came the private venture schools which took the sons of quite well-to-do fathers earning between £700 and £1,500 per annum.² The wealthiest families sent their sons out of the district to school, ostensibly to improve speech and manners, but, in fact, the motive was to gain social connections and get them away from friends and relations of the class from which they were just escaping.³ Several boys went as far afield as Rugby, Cheltenham and Clifton. Less wealthy parents sent their sons to local schools. Boys rarely stayed at these local schools beyond the age of fifteen and they

1. Ibid, p. 751.

2. Ibid, p. 716.

3. Ibid, p. 752.

claimed to give a mainly commercial education, the quality of which varied greatly according to fees charged and the seniority of the boy in the school. In the lower classes the teacher was usually ignorant and underpaid and the teaching of the basic subjects as well as geography, French, Latin, German and mathematics were all in his hands. It was only when a boy reached the top of the school that he came under the charge of the headmaster and began to specialise to some degree. The cheaper private schools offered little more than the elementary schools.

Bryce reported that Manchester business men frequently complained of the quality of the products of these schools, the most frequent complaint being that they could not cope with quite simple accounts. Out of 180 candidates for a clerical post in a Manchester warehouse in the 1860's 30 were placed on a short list and tested in writing and arithmetic. Only four of these candidates could find the cost of 1,000 yards of cloth at $6/10\frac{1}{2}$ a yard whilst only one worked the calculation in the short way then used by clerks. These boys were all from families with an income

1. Ibid, p. 716.

2. Ibid, p.723.

between £400 and £800 per annum, and would have been sent to private schools in order to acquire the commercial¹ skills which were so obviously lacking.

The endowed grammar schools continued to be unpopular with middle-class parents, it being considered that the classical education which they mainly provided was suitable only for boys proceeding to University and the learned professions rather than for future business men. Although many of these schools had been trying from the early years of the century to modernise their curriculum and organisation and widen their appeal, they were rarely completely successful. Some like Manchester Grammar School managed to survive this critical period in their history to achieve a new standing and strength, others like Stockport Grammar School barely survived, whilst others like the original Middleton Grammar School virtually ceased to function as grammar schools.

The story of Manchester Grammar School during this period reveals the nature of the problem which beset the endowed grammar schools and the attempts which were made to overcome them. The introduction of the "Commercial" or

1. Ibid., p. 722.

"English" school in 1833 did not make the school immediately popular with the middle-class. It gave an education of a very doubtful quality and attacks upon the school and its endowments, particularly by the radicals, continued. They argued that the school was richly endowed, yet provided an out-of-date curriculum to a handful of pupils, and they demanded that both the government and the curriculum should be made more representative of the district and its needs. The feoffees on the other hand defended the existing structure of the school considering that sufficient change had already been made. This dispute continued until 1849, cost the school £5,630 in legal fees,¹ and was decided by a Chancery decree of that year which brought four major changes. New feoffees were appointed in an attempt to bring the school more closely in touch with the district and its needs. No longer were they to come from the traditional ruling gentry of the countryside around Manchester, but had to be engaged in a profession, business or manufacture within six miles of the city centre.² A Lower school taking boys from five to eleven, teaching elementary subject as well

1. J.A. Graham and B.A. Phythian, op. cit., p. 37.

2. Ibid, p. 38.

as the elements of Latin, was established.¹ The closed Exhibitions to Oxford were abolished and the boarders with the extra income they represented,² disappeared. The aim of these changes was praiseworthy to link the school and the locality more firmly together and widen its appeal, but in practice these changes, coupled with declining revenues from the endowments, proved almost disastrous.

In the 1850's the Lower school was made up of 70 pupils and one master and taught reading and writing mainly. There were only 17 pupils learning Latin as preparation for entry into the Classical school.³ The rest went into the "English" school where there was one master to 150 boys aged nine to thirteen. To cope with these numbers resort had to be made to the monitorial system since declining income made it impossible to appoint additional staff. English grammar, composition, history, geography and Scripture were taught, very few attended the classes in maths and French which were offered,

1. Ibid, p. 51.

2. Ibid

3. Ibid, p. 52.

whilst commercial handwriting and accounts were taught by a part-time master. The boys stayed at the school for only one or two years. The most recent history of the school claims that "the Lower and the English schools were travesties of education."¹ The Classical school remained virtually unaltered since the eighteenth century. Here the standards were much higher with assistant masters teaching the lower six grades and the High Master coaching the top streams for University entrance. From 150 pupils in the 1840's, however, the number had dropped to 100 by 1856, the majority staying at school for only three or four years. The loss of the Exhibitions in 1849 had reduced the attraction of staying on into the upper forms and the loss of the extra income from the boarders, who had tended to be the best pupils, made it difficult to get staff of the highest² quality.

It was not until 1856 that the feoffees came to grips with the task of re-building the school which had steadily deteriorated over the previous fifty years.

1. Ibid

2. Ibid

Their aim was to end the division between the Classical and the "English" schools, form them into a single unit and, by so doing, bring the "English" school up to the higher standards set by the Classical school. This task was, however, made difficult by the declining revenues of the school which made it difficult to raise standards. From an annual income of £5,417 in the 1830's the figure had dropped to £2,993 by 1868.¹ To add to this problem there was the conservatism of the High Master, Dr. Germon, who opposed any tampering with the Classical basis of the school, to be overcome. It was not until 1859 when Dr. Germon retired that a start to the re-organisation could be made.

In that year F.W. Walker, a young man of 27 and a Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was appointed High Master and set about restoring the vitality of the Classical school as the central prop of the school to which later the "English" school could be added. It was the Classical school which was to set the standard. Latin was made compulsory in both the Lower school and the

1. Schools Inquiry Commission, op. cit., p. 306.

"English" school, graded year lists were issued to keep a check on progress, a modern timetable was introduced to use the time more efficiently, promising students from the Lower school and the lower forms of the Classical school and from evening schools unconnected with the school were rapidly promoted by Walker into his Sixth Form, and as the school population began to increase an entrance exam was introduced. In 1860 the school became a centre for the new Oxford Local Examinations, welcomed by employers as a test of efficiency and, whilst most schools entered a selected one or two candidates each year, Walker entered 40, using the examination as a general test of the efficiency of the school. Within four years of his appointment the Classical school had been completely revitalised and his Sixth Formers were winning open scholarships to the Universities, thus compensating in some measure for the loss of the closed Exhibitions in 1849. Of the 95 grammar schools which there had been at the beginning of the century in the North-West, only five had survived by the 1860's as Classical grammar schools.¹

In 1863 Walker began the more difficult task of converting Manchester Grammar School into a modern grammar

1. J.A. Graham and B.A. Pythian, op. cit., p. 63.

school with a modern curriculum of a high standard, as opposed to a purely classical curriculum. The problem of finance remained. The school now had 300 pupils, there were classes of 40 to 50 and the staff was poorly paid. The numbers were reduced to 250 but there was still no money to spare for the development of science and modern languages. The High Master's replies to a questionnaire sent by the Schools Inquiry Commission reveal his own estimate of the problems which faced the school in the mid 1860's. He complained that the school was unable to offer sciences and languages, that facilities for games and physical education were lacking and that salaries, which were only £100 to £135 in the lower ranges, were inadequate since "an efficient classical master cannot be got for the money".¹ It was, therefore, decided to change the character of the school completely, from a free grammar school into a fee-paying school but reserving a specified number of free places, and using the income earned to improve the school generally and build up the modern side in particular. The growing popularity of the

1. Schools Inquiry Commission, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 307.

school made this a practical possibility and a precedent had already been set by Stockport and Bury grammar schools which had begun to charge fees in 1860. ¹ This proposal, originally to charge a modest fee of £4. 4. Od. per annum, however, again brought opposition this time led by the old boys of the school who objected to the change in its character, and a further Chancery action followed which was not settled until 1867. It was finally agreed that the fees should be increased to £12. 12. Od. per annum which would enable the number of free places to be increased from 50 as originally intended, to 250. Thus the "train boys", as they came to be called, travelling daily into Manchester from the surrounding towns, came to replace the boarders as a source of income. ² The fee charged was a relatively high one and it took a number of years for the number of fee-paying pupils to increase and so increase the income of the school, but by 1871 the school had doubled in size to 500 pupils. The modern side was developed slowly and in 1871 new buildings were opened with improved facilities. ³

1. J.A. Graham and B.A. Phythian, op. cit., p. 64.

2. Ibid, p. 73.

3. Ibid

At the summit of the post-elementary system was Owen's College. This was opened in 1851 as a result of a bequest made by John Owen, a successful Manchester businessman, who died in 1846. It aimed at providing education of a university character for youngmen aged over 14, preference being given to students from Manchester and South Lancashire and there were to be no religious tests. The college provided evening classes, but it was intended that the main university work should be done in day-time classes.¹

Owen's College, like so many other institutions designed for the middle-class, failed to prosper and suffered from the same problems which had affected the schools, parental ignorance of what constituted a suitable education for future businessmen, and an eagerness to put their sons to work. Bryce commenting on this local apathy wrote: "I found people in Manchester who did not know of the existence of Owen's College, while in some quarters its very newness and its unsectarian character seem to have created against it an unworthy and

1. Edward Fides, Chapters in the History of Owen's College and of Manchester University 1851 - 1914, Manchester University Press, 1937, p. 51.

groundless prejudice." ¹ The evening classes proved to be popular and attendance increased from 100 to 500, but it took 20 years to produce this increase. ² The more essential university day-time work failed to prosper. A figure of 200 full time students was reached only after 18 years. In the 1861 - 1862 session the figure was as low as 88 with only 50 taking degree courses. In one session there were only 19 degree students. ³ Bryce considered that there ought to have been 400 to 500 day students. ⁴

A new start was given to the college by Thomas Ashton, a local cotton manufacturer, who may be regarded as the second founder. ⁵ He did much to increase public interest in the college, a process which started with a well-attended public meeting on 1st February, 1867, at which subscriptions totalling £200,000 were raised. ⁶ The college moved to new

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1. Schools Inquiry Commission, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 720.
 2. Fides, op. cit., p. 51.
 3. Ibid., p. 60.
 4. Schools Inquiry Commission, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 720.
 5. Fides, op. cit., p. 64.
 6. Ibid., p. 65.

premises on the present site in 1871 and the government of the college was taken out of the hands of the trustees and placed jointly with a body of lay governors, professors and the alumni or associates. In that year, also, women¹ were admitted.

Most of the children of middle-class parents attended the private venture schools, received a mainly commercial education and left school at the age of 14. An inquiry conducted by Bryce for the Schools Inquiry Commission amongst young men working in Manchester and Salford warehouses, revealed that 50% of them had been to private schools in either Manchester or Salford or the immediate neighbourhood. Many of these schools were single-teacher establishments with between 30 and 60 boys. A further 20% had attended private schools and grammar schools outside the Manchester district, whilst 10% had attended Manchester Grammar School. The remaining 20% had received their education at better-quality elementary schools. 90% of the boys examined² had left school at 14.

The endowed grammar schools were incapable of dealing with the number of children requiring education,

1. Ibid, p. 68.

2. Schools Inquiry Commission, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 723.

of a post-elementary character. In the whole of the South Lancashire industrial area there were only 15 such schools with a total attendance of only 880. In the Manchester district there were only six schools catering for only the smallest fraction of the population as the following figures show.

Table X showing the grammar school population in the townships around Manchester 1864-5. Taken from Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. IX, p. 757.

	Bolton	Oldham	Blackburn	Rochdale	Bury	Maximum Total
Population in 1861	70,395	72,333	63,126	38,114	37,563	281,531
Boys in grammar schools 1864-65	67	37 claimed, in fact only 12	90	40	121	355

Thus the private schools prospered since they filled, though inefficiently, a very real gap in the post-elementary system of education, Bryce listed four reasons for the lack of popularity of the grammar schools, the fact that the fees were often too high for the lower middle-class, the

classics were generally considered to be useless, there were often theological and political jealousies working against the schools, whilst frequently the trustees or headmasters had grossly neglected the schools.¹ His description of the state of the Oldham grammar school indicates the depths to which many of the endowed grammar schools had sunk. "In a gloomy and filthy room in the worst part of this great and growing manufacturing town, I found a teacher, who had himself received a very scanty education, hearing twelve dirty and unkept children, none of them over ten years of age, read in an elementary lesson book."²

His suggestions as to how post-elementary education might be improved are interesting. He argued that since the public would not go out to look for good education, then some public body, either the state or some independent organisation, should give the public education of a guaranteed quality. Good education, suitable for the needs of Manchester's middle-class, he summarised as one supported by good teachers, a £5 to £6 fee possibly being necessary to provide them; a commercial education based on arithmetic,

1. Ibid, p. 758.

2. Ibid, p. 759.

leading on to mathematics, and English grammar and composition as its backbone and offering also Latin and Science; and organised into departments with specialist teachers and governed by representatives of the local community as well as men of high academic achievement.¹ Such a system would have been very similar to the higher grade schools which the Manchester and Salford School Boards eventually introduced.² The effect of this he continued would be to destroy the "cheap and nasty" private schools which existed, improve the remainder through the stimulus of competition and build up a new understanding of education amongst the middle-class and lead to the development of higher education in general and Owen's College in particular.³

1. Ibid., p. 725.

2. See pp. 252 - 256.

3. Schools Inquiry Commission, op. cit., p. 725.

Chapter 3. Educational Achievement 1833 to 1870.

" A school, for example, which (a) is kept in a cellar with no admission of light except through the doorway and no seating for the children except on the staircase; or a school in which (b) the teacher is in extreme old age or paralytic; or a school in which (c) there being children more than six years old, only oral spelling is professed to be taught, or in which the elements being professed, there are only a very few bad reading books, or a very few slates among many children; such a school is reckoned as unfit on account of such gross prima facie defect." (Fearon Report, p. 129).

To estimate the educational provision of the nineteenth century accurately, not only the quantity of education, but also the quality of that education must be taken into account. The Committee of Council, and later the Department of Education which was created in 1856 because of the expansion of the work of the Committee, was aware of the problem of quality. Although their attempts to increase the quantity of education through state provision met with strong opposition, their attempts to improve quality met with more success. Even here, however, there was opposition.

The first Minute of the newly-established Committee in 1839 provided for the establishment of a state training college with model schools attached, as a first

step towards the all-important task of securing a supply of well-trained teachers. This, as has been seen,¹ met with opposition and the scheme was dropped. The appointment of two inspectors to inspect the aided schools was, however, accepted. These inspectors were originally intended to inquire into the needs of the district applying for aid, but their work extended far beyond this. They provided a wealth of information concerning the day-to-day details of education such as building, ventilation and heating, curriculum and method, attendance, fees and salaries. Their reports repeatedly record the low quality of much of what passed for education in the nineteenth century.² The Committee, from its inception, took a great interest in school building, laying down regulations which had to be observed before a grant could be received. Their regulations in fact brought into being a new profession, that of school architect.³

Although the Committee of Council was unable to establish a training college, training facilities were established privately. As early as 1834 the Glasgow Educational Society

1. See p. 50.

2. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 89.

3. S.J. Curtis, op. cit., pp. 244-5.

adopted the schools and teacher training methods of David Stow, who believed that "an apprenticeship is as requisite for the profession of the schoolmaster, as that of any other art;"¹ and established the Normal Seminary. Stow's "trainers", as he called his teachers, were in great demand and spread all over the British Isles and beyond. In 1840 the newly appointed Secretary to the Committee, Dr. Kay, with the assistance of a friend, Mr. Tufnell, opened a training college in the old manor house at Battersea, admitting pupil teachers and older men aged 20 to 30. The college was strongly influenced by the Swiss schools, which Kay had recently visited, which were in turn influenced by Pestalozzi Fellenberg. The college soon ran into financial difficulties and it passed to the National Society in 1843. This example, however, stimulated the Church to undertake the building of training colleges and 22 had been established in 1845.

In 1846 the Committee again tried to improve the quality of teachers. By the Minutes of that year the pupil-teacher system was established as a substitute for the monitors of the old monitorial system which was

1. Ibid, pp.214-5.

being increasingly criticised. Schools which had received a favourable report from the inspectors were recognised as suitable for the training of pupil-teachers. The pupil-teacher entered a five year contract at the age of thirteen and received an allowance of £10 per annum rising by increments of £2. 10. Od. to £20. One pupil-teacher was allowed for every twenty five pupils. The head teacher had to give them one and a half hours' instruction each school day for which he received an addition to his salary ranging from £5 for one pupil to £3 for the third. At the end of their apprenticeship the pupil-teachers entered for the Queen's Scholarship examination. Those selected were awarded exhibitions worth £20 to £25 at a training college. Annual grants were paid to the training colleges for each of the three years' training. The Committee also tried to make teaching a more attractive profession by giving proficiency grants to trained teachers and old-age

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1. The Rev. Frederick Watkins, the inspector of National Schools in the north, in his report for 1847, condemned the monitorial system. He wrote of "their general inutility, if not, in many cases, absolute hindrance to the work of education," (Manchester Guardian, 6th November, 1847).

pensions for fifteen years or more of service. In 1847 a further grant was made to help provide apparatus and books in training colleges.

These attempts to improve quality had their effect; buildings were purpose built, inspectors made marathon¹ journeys fact-finding and suggesting to the Committee and the number of qualified teachers increased. By 1850 there were 16 training colleges with 991 students. This had increased to 34 and 2,388 by 1860, but by 1870 there had been scarcely any advance on this.² There was, however, little overall progress. Leonard Horner, the factory inspector for the northern district, was highly critical of existing standards in his report for 1847. Writing of Factory Schools he wrote: "I wish some of those who have been lately extolling so loudly the voluntary system as all sufficient for the education of the humbler classes, and have been throwing impediments in the way of the efforts of the government to give aid towards the establishment and maintenance of good schools by grants of the public money, would visit some of these places called schools, to which factory children are sent, and to which in many cases they must go as no better are

1. The report of Joseph Fletcher an inspector of schools, issued in 1847, took three years to compile. (Manchester Guardian , 22nd January, 1848).

2. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 486.

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within their reach."

The Revised Code of 1861 was a further attempt to improve quality. In the well-known words of Robert Lowe the Vice-President of the Education Department, it was intended of the new system that: "If it is not cheap, it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient, it shall be cheap." The Revised Code with its emphasis on "payment by results" has been widely criticised. It is said that it lowered the qualifications of the teachers since a lower class of certificate was introduced so that schools where teachers of a lower standard of attainment taught could qualify for a grant; decreased the number of teachers in a school since a lower scale of staffing was required; took away the inducement to keep children at school beyond eleven, since the grant could not be earned by pupils over twelve; and reduced teaching to a mechanical repetition of rudimentary skills. There is no doubt that in its later stages the system of "payment by results" did restrict the advance of education, but in its early years the quality of education and standards of attainment were so low that it is difficult to see what harm it could have done. G.A.N. Lowndes wrote of the system: "By 1895 the system stood

1. Manchester Guardian, 22nd April, 1848.

condemned - and rightly so - by most contemporary as by nearly all subsequent educational thought. Thus to the modern student of educational method it is now of little more than cautionary interest as the negation of everything for which true education should stand. To those concerned to trace the successive factors which have made for the growth of the English educational system, it is, however, deserving of closer study.¹ "Payment by results" was an attempt to deal with the problem of low standards in general and the neglect of backward children in particular, by setting up this "ledger account of educational progress."² The new system ensured that every child got its full share of attention possible, given the generally unsatisfactory conditions of the time, and provided discipline and a civilising influence for the children of the industrial areas. T.L. Jarman thinks that the system was "a good rough and ready method of achieving a degree of efficiency in elementary education".³

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1. G.A.N. Lowndes, The Silent Social Revolution, Oxford, 1937, p. 7.
 2. Ibid, p. 8.
 3. T.L. Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education, John Murray, 1951, p. 263.

There can be no doubt that the attempts to improve the quality of education which have just been outlined had some effect on the quality of education in the Manchester area. This, however, should not be overestimated. With outstanding exceptions, the general rule was untrained and overworked teachers working under unsatisfactory conditions, achieving poor results.

A. Teachers

The quality of education depends mainly on the quality of the teacher and undoubtedly the main problem in Manchester was the lack of suitably trained teachers, indeed teachers who possessed the basic mental, moral or physical requirements. The observers and investigators of the time were very positive of the importance of trained teachers. The Rev. Frederick Watkins, the inspector of National Schools in the north, attached to his report for 1847, his observations on individual schools. ¹ Many of these schools were in the Manchester district. He wrote of schools where there were untrained teachers, bad discipline and poor achievements, and of schools with trained teachers and good reputations. A

1. Manchester Guardian, 8th January, 1848, 15th January, 1848.

school in Ashton-under-Lyne had an untrained teacher who was "ignorant of method" and "fond of the cane" with two boys to assist him; attainment was poor and discipline bad. Another teacher, however, had been trained at Westminster and in four months had already built up the school's standing (Granby Row, Manchester); another had been trained at Cambridge and had "good discipline" (St. Silas, Manchester); yet another, trained at Chester, was very "earnest in his work and very anxious for the success of the school" (Great George Street, Salford). The Rev. Charles Richson in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1852¹ presented a table showing how the quality of the school varied with the salary, and presumably the quality, of the teacher. The Assistant Commissioners appointed by the Newcastle Commission were unanimous about the superiority² of schools in which there were trained teachers.

It is difficult to put teachers at this time into strict categories of trained and untrained since the

1. Report from the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 21st June, 1852, p. 59.

2. Newcastle Report Vol. 1, p. 103.

training of teachers was by no means well developed and indeed in some quarters was deemed not to be necessary.¹ The trained teachers, using a liberal interpretation of this term, may be taken as those who had been fully trained by some kind of apprenticeship followed by a period at a training college and a certificate of competence, and those who had been trained or were being trained in a model school, but had not passed on to training college. The untrained teachers were a large group which had not undertaken any period of formal training and which varied widely in quality. Some had had considerable experience of children over a number of years of teaching, but the great majority had not. These might be subdivided according to their degree of unsuitability and incompetence.

The fully-trained teachers were usually of a very high standard and comments on their ability and influence were unanimous in their praise. Watkins was unstinting in his praise of this group of teachers in the 1840's and considered that their influence was

1. It was the Manchester School Board's policy after 1870 to employ untrained teachers.

of paramount importance in the work of the school.¹ He pointed out that the length of their training period was increasing.²

He recognised also, however, that there were two factors limiting the number and effectiveness of teachers. Salaries were not sufficiently attractive to bring suitable recruits into the profession and many teachers held other posts which often interfered with teaching. The average salary in the National schools under his supervision was £41. 17. 10d. per annum.³ This seems to have been higher than the national average. In 1847 the salaries of 8,691 teachers in Church schools averaged only £29. 12. Od. though by 1860 this figure had increased to £80.⁴ But these salaries should be compared with local pay scales, which at times of good trade were high, to get an accurate estimation of the financial standing of the teacher at that time. In Rochdale skilled labourers could earn 23/- to 26/- a week, whilst unskilled pay ranged from 15/- to 17/- a week.⁵

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1. Manchester Guardian, 8th January, 1848.
 2. Ibid, 6th November, 1847.
 3. Manchester Guardian, 6th November, 1847.
 4. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 487.
 5. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p. 177.

The comments of the Newcastle Commission on this question of pay are interesting and the salaries quoted are much higher. The Report countered claims that pay was inadequate with the arguments that the teacher had been educated at public expense, that his hours of work, five days a week, seven and a half hours a day, with six to seven weeks' vacation, were congenial and that the average salary for teachers was between £100 and £110 per annum. Limiting the effectiveness of the teacher was the size of the class which he had to face. Watkins reported that the pupil - teacher ratio averaged 80 and pointed out that Dr. Hook recommended that 60 children were as many as a teacher could manage. Watkins claimed that 50 was a more desirable number. He listed 22 schools with an average of 147 children to each teacher, one school in Oldham (St. Peter's) had 170, another in Bolton (Trinity School) had 260. Some of these children

1. Ibid, Vol. 1 p. 161.

2. Manchester Guardian, 13th November, 1847.

would be part timers, but the mental and physical strain of coping with such numbers, whether all at once or at various times in the day, must have been enormous.

The Newcastle Report¹ acknowledged the superiority of the trained teacher. Winder, the Assistant Commissioner for Rochdale, wrote that: "The public schoolmaster and mistress who had been trained left, on the whole, a very favourable impression on my mind."² The Report also declared, however, that "it is equally clear that they fail, to a considerable extent, in some of the most important of the duties of elementary teachers, and that a large proportion of the children are not satisfactorily taught that which they come to school to learn."³ Considering the conditions under which teachers at this time had to work, this is not surprising, but the Report pointed to the youth of trained teachers as an important factor in their failure. The newly-trained teachers who were

1. Newcastle Report, Vol. 1, p. 154.

2. Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 218.

3. Ibid, Vol. p. 154.

beginning to emerge from the colleges at this time were, it was claimed, not sufficiently mature to deal with very young children. Winder maintained that whilst the trained teacher might have received a sound education, they had not been sufficiently instructed "in the art of their profession".¹

The pupil teachers who appeared after 1846 were certainly better than the monitors they had replaced. Watkins claimed that Manchester had some good model National Schools for training pupil teachers.² The Newcastle Report acknowledged the superiority of schools in which pupil teachers are employed.³ Matthew Arnold regarded them as "the sinews of English public education".⁴ It must be remembered, however, that these teachers were very young, between 13 and 18, were working under very difficult circumstances and naturally came in for some criticism. They were, at their best,

1. Ibid, Vol. 2. p. 219.

2. Manchester Guardian, 6th November, 1847.

3. Newcastle Report, Vol. 1, p. 103.

4. Quoted in Curtis, op. cit., p. 263.

useful auxiliaries and must not be accepted in an estimate of the quality of teachers at this time, as being full trained. Watkins pointed out that whilst the pupil-teacher might be trained in the mechanics of instruction his "heart may remain unaffected by, and indeed unaware of, the great responsibility he is about to take on himself as a teacher of youth"¹. The Newcastle Commission² also had reservations about them. It was critical of the system which involved extensive studies at the same time as teaching, pointing out that the student's main efforts were directed towards his studies at the expense of his teaching. The content of his studies was criticised as being too mechanical, concerned with facts rather than principles. Also it was considered that the number of hours teaching and studying was excessive. Winder claimed that in Rochdale it was difficult to get the right quality of entrant, especially boys. Girls were usually very good.³

1. Manchester Guardian, 6th November, 1847.

2. Newcastle Report, Vol. 1, p. 97.

3. Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 219.

Untrained teachers who had been teaching for a number of years "trained by experience and observation¹ over a long period", could, if of the right character, be satisfactory, and in some cases valuable, teachers. There was, however, no guarantee that the teacher would be a good teacher simply through years of practice. The good "unqualified" teachers were declining in numbers² as old age removed them and the pupil teacher system extended, and those remaining should be classed as completely untrained and in most cases unsuitable.

These teachers were teachers by default, who had drifted into teaching either because they had failed in business³ or were widows who considered that looking after their own families had been sufficient training and had become teachers to avoid destitution.⁴ They were usually of a very poor quality owing to ignorance,

1. Ibid, p. 218.

2. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p. 218.

3. West argues that this does not necessarily imply that that person would make a bad teacher. He agrees, however, that "many charlatans did make their appearance amongst nineteenth century teachers". E.G. West, op. cit., p. 116 - 7.

4. Newcastle Report, Vol. 1. p. 92.

old age and, in some cases serious physical defects. Of the schools which they kept, Fearon wrote in 1869: "They are schools such as any person however inexperienced in scholastic matters, would, after a very brief visit, condemn, and as to an experienced person are obviously worse than useless."¹

The Manchester Statistical Society in the 1830's gave many illustrations of the poor quality of the untrained Dame and common day school teachers.² It is significant that Fearon's comments on this type of teacher, 30 years later, are markedly similar.³ One teacher had had a "paralytic stroke" and was partially crippled, whilst another suffered from bad health and was almost blind. He frequently mentions schools kept by "aged" ragged and dirty Irishmen on the one hand, and clean but incompetent old women on the other. Of one of these Irishmen he wrote: "During my examination he professed to continue teaching the rest. But all he did was to walk about the room

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1. Fearon Report, p. 135.
 2. See Chapter 1.
 3. Fearon Report, pp. 130 to 135.

occasionally rapping some of the scholars with a split cane
he carried." ¹ Another was mending a table in the middle of
the schoolroom floor with the class watching; if any of
the children moved he shook his hammer at them.

There is no doubt that the majority of teachers in the
Manchester district were untrained. The Manchester
Statistical Society produced figures ² for the 1830's which
revealed the extent of the problem. In Manchester in
1834 there were 549 teachers in day schools, but only 58
of these claimed to have been educated "for teaching".
About 50% of the remaining teachers had had fewer than five
years experience and may be counted as completely untrained.
These proportions were roughly the same in Salford and Bury.

By 1844 there had been some improvement. Watkins
claimed that in the schools which he inspected 25% of
the teachers were trained. Three years later in 1847
this proportion had increased to 33%. However, out of 363
teachers, trained and untrained, only three or four had taught
for 20 or more years whilst the great majority had been

1. Ibid

2. See Table II pp. 34 - 36.

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teaching for fewer than five years. It would seem then that the untrained teachers had not had the benefit of experience to offset their lack of training.

The proportion of trained to untrained teachers seems to have remained at this figure for the next twenty years. An examination of the position in the publicly provided schools in Manchester undertaken by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Manchester Education in 1852, revealed that out of 506 teachers only 174 were trained. Of the remaining 332, 53 were paid monitors 208 unpaid monitors, whilst 71 were pupil teachers.²

Fearon in 1869 did not discover any marked improvement in this situation. Out of 944 teachers in Manchester day schools of all kinds, 326 were under 15 years of age and 282 were aged between 15 and 20.³ Thus 608 teachers about 64%, were either pupil teachers or very young and inexperienced. The remaining 285 would not all be trained as his comments on the teachers

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1. Manchester Guardian, 6th November, 1847.
 2. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 21st June, 1852, Table 15, p. 473.
 3. Fearon Report, p. 11.

Table XI showing the number of trained teachers in the Manchester district 1833 - 1870.

Date	Area	Source	No. teachers in survey	Number trained	Comment
1834	Manchester	Manchester Statistical Society	549	(a) trained 58 (b) 5 years or more experience 256	See Table II
1835	Salford	"	152	(a) trained 34 (b) 5 years or more experience 65	See Table II
1835	Bury	"	61	(a) trained 12 (b) 5 years or more experience 41	See Table II
1844	Manchester	Rev. Frederick Watkins	-	1 in 4.	Many for a short period only.
1847	Manchester	"	363	trained 133 1 in 3	For a longer period.
1852	Manchester and Salford	Parliamentary Select Committee 1852.	506	(a) trained 174 (b) pupil-teachers 71	208 unpaid monitors.
1869	Manchester	Fearon Inquiry	944	(a) 608 under 20 years of age i.e., undergoing training. (b) 285 over 20 some of whom would be trained.	

found in private schools shows.

It would seem then that fully-trained teachers in this period accounted for only some 30% to 35% of Manchester's teaching force. This reveals a serious deficiency and must have had a profound effect on educational achievement.

B. Curriculum and Method

The curriculum of most nineteenth century elementary schools included little beyond the three R's with some needlework for girls. This is understandable since the basic task of schools at this time was to produce a literate population, but such a curriculum has obvious limitations. It cannot be claimed that it gave a true education in the fullest sense. This curriculum was fixed by the Revised Code of 1861. By examining only the three basic subjects and giving grants based on the result of these examinations, the Code made it quite certain that little, if any, time would be spent on subjects beyond the scope of the examination. Article 48 of the Code not only laid down the subjects to be examined, but by a system of standards set limits beyond which a class need not proceed. The Education Department soon realised the effect of these regulations and from 1867 onwards various Minutes admitted other subjects as grant-

earning subjects. This, however, was done in a piecemeal fashion and no thought was given to producing a balanced curriculum.

There was little deviation from this narrow curriculum in Manchester. In Manchester in the 1830's the curriculum varied according to the quality of the school. Table XI¹ shows that those schools classed as superior offered a varied and balanced curriculum, whilst the others offered little beyond the three R's. Claims to teach subjects other than these must be treated with suspicion when the quality of the teachers and the standard of achievement in the basic subjects is taken into account. Most children who attended day school would be taught to read,² but it was by no means certain that they would learn to write or do simple arithmetic. Twenty years later the situation was the same when the Parliamentary Select Committee on Manchester Education in 1852 examined the curriculum followed by 14,244 children in Manchester. The Committee

1. See p. 146.

2. Reading was the subject in greatest demand. J.S. Winder maintained that this was not due to utilitarian motives but rather because of a wish to read in order to fill leisure time.

made the surprising discovery that 1,523 children were not even being taught to read. Only 64% were being taught to write and only 57% were being taught arithmetic.

A surprising number of children were attending geography classes.¹ J.S. Winder, the Newcastle² Commission's

Assistant Commissioner enquiring into the state of education in Rochdale reported that the curriculum consisted mainly of reading, writing, including dictation, and arithmetic and scripture with needlework for girls.²

A very few schools taught other subjects to a very few children and his description of the syllabus in these subjects makes one wonder whether they were worth including.

Grammar, which he described as "the parts of speech, parsing and the analysis of complex sentences", was studied by only 72 pupils; geography "from the outlines of British geography to a survey of the map of the world", by 91; English history "usually no more than a list of kings and queens and an outline of the main events", to 46; whilst music and drawing were taught to 21 and 23 pupils respectively.³

1. Vide Table XII, p. 147.

2. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p. 222.

3. Ibid

Table XII showing the subjects taught in different kinds of Manchester schools in 1834. Taken from the Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the state of Education in Manchester in 1834, Table V, p. 34.

Type of school	Number of schools teaching the following subjects												
	Reading	Grammar	Writing	Arithmetic	Natural History	Geography and History	Drawing	Maths	Religion	Morals	Languages	Needlework	No information
Dame School	230	1	2						2	1		177	
Common day school (boys)	114	60	114	110	4	28		2	15	33	1	3	3
Common day school (girls)	63	44	61	41	4	29	1		4	11		63	
Superior private and boarding (boys)	34	34	33	35	14	34	15	25	4	10	31	2	1
Superior private and boarding (girls)	76	76	75	71	35	74	35	2	5	32	31	74	2
Infant	5	1	3	3	2	2			5	5		2	
Charity and endowed schools	20	6	15	14		2		1	7	6	1	11	
Evening and Sunday schools	81	28	78	77		3		3			2	1	

Table XIII "Showing the number of scholars instructed in each branch of Education in the Public Schools of the Borough of Manchester". Taken from the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Manchester and Salford Education, 21st June, 1852, Table 14, p. 472.

Number of scholars for whom information was given	14,244
Reading	12,721
Writing	9,094
Arithmetic	8,353
English Grammar	3,787
Geography	4,046
Modern Languages	175
Mathematics	396
Drawing	674
Music	2,105
Industrial occupations	2,095

There were, of course, exceptions to this general rule of the 3 R's which show that Manchester schools and teachers at this time were not unaware of the factors which made a good balanced curriculum. Joseph Adshead in his evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1852 presented the timetable for St. Barnabas' School in Manchester which he said "appears to me to present almost a model timetable for day schools".¹ The curriculum and organisation offered in this school seems to have four points to commend it. There was ample provision for the basic subjects, there was variety in the presentation of these subjects with provision for retirement from the main school for group study, the curriculum was liberalised by the inclusion of History, Geography and Poetry, and there was good provision for breaks and relaxation.

The monitorial system, the quality of the teacher and the narrowness and rigidity of the curriculum combined to ensure that teaching methods were generally unsatisfactory. The Revised Code further encouraged mechanical and in some

1. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford), 21st June, 1852, p. 329. See table XIII, p. 149.

Showing The Timetable of the St. Barnabas' School, Manchester in 1852.

Special T.T. for Tuesday	Time	Subject	Class	Special T.T. for Thursday
	From 9.0 a.m. to 10.0 a.m.	Scripture Lesson " " " Arithmetic " Primer etc. in classroom. Repeat text for the day.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
Grammar	From 10.0 a.m. to 10.45a.m.	English History Arithmetic Writing in books Reading and lesson explained Tables in classroom " Reading	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Geography

10. 45 to 11. 00 PLAY.

	From 11.0 a.m. to 12.00 noon	Arithmetic Writing (reading Monday) Arithmetic(writing Monday) Tables and spelling Reading " Tables in classroom	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Geography
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Tuesday	Time	Subjects	Class	Thursday
Grammar	From 2.0 p.m. to 3. Op.m.	Writing Arithmetic on slates " Reading " Poetry in classroom "	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Grammar Geography
Grammar Geography	From 3.0 p.m. to 3.45 p.m.	Dictation and reading Dictation or tables Reading " Writing " Counting	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Grammar

3. 45 to 4. 0 PLAY

	From 4.0 p.m. to 5.0 p.m.	Arithmetic and mensuration Reading and lesson explained Dictation on slates Church catechism and mental arithmetic Spelling and mental arithmetic " Object lesson and marching	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Arithmetic Writing
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cases dishonest, methods to gain the results necessary to gain a grant.

The monitorial system survived in Manchester until well into this period despite the introduction of the pupil-teacher system which was intended to replace it. As late as 1852, out of 506 teachers in Manchester public schools, 261 were monitors.¹ This system of teaching was repeatedly condemned by the Manchester Statistical Society during its inquiries into the state of education in the district in the 1830's as being too mechanical.² It was, moreover, a method which could not be used with any hope of success for subjects other than the 3 R's and this also helped to restrict the curriculum. The monitorial system was, at its best, a cheap method of teaching a few basic mechanical skills and facts.

Where there was a direct contact between an adult teacher and the children, the teachers were of such a low quality that again teaching tended to be a purely repetitive business. Reporting on the common day schools the Manchester Statistical Society³ pointed out that arithmetic was particularly badly

1. See p. 141.

2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, p. 11.

3. Ibid, p. 10.

taught since the teachers were incapable of teaching in any but the most mechanical way. It was noted also that lessons were unprepared and unsuitable for the children for whom they were intended.¹ Order and discipline in this type of school was either not maintained or was maintained by terror.

Even in the schools of a higher quality lessons were often dull and uninspiring. The Select Committee of 1852 was especially interested in the question of religious education, how it was taught in schools as they existed and the effect that extending state control over Manchester schools would have on religious teaching. There are in the Reports many explanations of how this subject, one of the few liberal studies offered beyond the 3 R's, was taught. All the explanations reveal a lack of real understanding of method. Joseph Adshead, explaining how the scriptures were taught at a good school, said that the master stood in the gallery and read the scriptures, the boys in the scripture class reading after him. There then followed

1. Ibid, Manchester, pp. 9 - 10.

a brief explanation of the passage. Children engaged in other lessons were expected to listen to this lesson.¹ The structure of most schools at this time, with a central schoolroom and gallery, meant that a variety of activities was always going on in the same room at the same time. Commenting on the teaching of scripture in Rochdale, J.S. Winder wrote that the class read or heard sections of the Bible and then were examined on the facts. Only occasionally was the religious nature of the passage or allied topics discussed since this depended on the skill of the teacher.² He also criticised the methods of teaching reading, especially in more advanced classes, where books that were completely lacking in interest were used. Never, he reported, had he found even the slightest interest excited in a reading lesson and this he was sure was the reason for the main reading faults, mechanical reading without

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1. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford), 21st June, 1852, p. 330.
 2. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p. 222.

an awareness of the meaning of the words. He concluded:
"They can hardly be expected to form a close attention
to the significance of what they read, if their chief
training is in a course of lessons, which are either
too obscure for understanding or too uninteresting to
re¹pay the trouble of deciphering."

The Revised Code did nothing to improve teaching
methods. Matthew Arnold noted in 1867 that:"The
mode of teaching in the primary schools has certainly
fallen off in intelligence, spirit, and inventiveness
during the four or five years which have elapsed since
my last report."² (1862). This was inevitable since
children were relentlessly drilled for an examination
at which the teacher conspired with the examinee to
outwit the examiner. Mechanical repetition, irrespective
of understanding, was called for by the teacher anxious
to earn grants.

C. Accommodation

Good buildings do not necessarily make a good school,
but a school cannot function properly unless its buildings

1. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2 p.222.

2. Quoted S.J. Curtis, op. cit., p. 263.

are at least adequate. Before the establishment of the Committee of the Council in 1839 little had been done to improve school buildings. The Committee, however, began to lay down regulations which set standards which had to be met before a building grant could be received and thereby encouraged the building of purpose-built schools of a satisfactory standard. This welcome development was, however, confined to the publicly provided schools which were subject to inspection and in receipt of grants; the many small private schools remained untouched by this development. These private schools were usually housed in unsuitable rooms inadequately converted and equipped.

A Regulation of the 24th September, 1839, required that buildings should be of "substantial erection" and provide at least six square feet per child. Circular No. 1, November, 1839, laid stress upon the importance of adequate ventilation. Plans for buildings which were in accordance with official requirements often included stone or brick structures with decoration of contrasting colours, built in the ecclesiastical style; ventilation was by means of ventilation turrets in the roof, which fitted in well with

the style of the building, air entering at floor level; a large common school room with a gallery or classrooms¹ leading off, to which individual classes could retire. Such would be an ideal school at this time and, though many buildings in the Manchester area did not come up to this standard, there can be little doubt that these regulations resulted in a general improvement in the accommodation of publicly provided schools.

Watkins, reporting on the National Schools in 1847, wrote that there were few places where accommodation was seriously deficient. The exceptions he mentioned,² however, included Manchester schools. Such evidence as was given to the Select Committee on Manchester Education in 1852 referring to buildings, revealed a relatively satisfactory state of affairs. The Rev. William McKerrow, a Presbyterian Minister, maintained that the denominational schools were satisfactory so far as accommodation went.³ Richson gave the average amount of floor space per child

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1. Curtis op. cit., pp. 246 - 7.
 2. Manchester Guardian, 6th November, 1847.
 3. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853, p. 33.

in the public schools as eight square feet, whereas¹ the Committee's regulations required only six square feet. Winder, reporting on Rochdale, said that most recently-built schools were "generally really² handsome buildings", but he was critical of the shape of some schoolrooms and either the lack of, or the inconvenient position of the classrooms which were provided. He condemned wide rooms with little distance from front to back, which were often seen, with desks arranged in rows so that there was little space between the front row and the wall facing it. This made it difficult for the teacher to keep check on the extreme ends of the room to his left or right. Some rooms he encountered were even L shaped with the teacher placed at the angle. Classrooms off the main schoolroom he maintained, should be, unlike many he had seen, easily accessible, without confusion so that the teacher³ could inspect them without leaving the main room.

Whilst accommodation in the public schools was generally satisfactory, that provided by the private

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1. Ibid., 21st June, 1852, p. 26.
 2. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2 p.221.
 3. Ibid.

schools was, with few exceptions, quite inadequate. These schools were not purpose built and were usually housed as cheaply as possible in sections of buildings which were not needed at the time. This usually meant a cellar or attic room. There were two major criticisms of this type of accommodation, the lack of space and inadequate ventilation.

The Manchester Statistical Society in its investigations in the district in the 1830's regularly reported overcrowding in schools kept in cellars or garrets.¹ In 1853 the Rev. William McKerrow² criticised the small ill-ventilated rooms found in small private schools, lacking in books and apparatus. Winder reported that private schools in Rochdale were "frequently close, crowded and unwholesome,"³ in some there was no room for the children to move from their desks. By 1869 there had been little progress in the state of accommodation in Manchester private schools.

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1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p. 6.
 2. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853, p. 33.
 3. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p. 221.

In that year Fearon inspected 90 departments which were not subject to government inspection. He declared 37 of these unfit to be schools and gave detailed explanations as to why a sample of 20 were unsuitable.¹ Thirteen were unsuitable because of inadequate accommodation. He reported a school in two rooms of a private house with 52 children in one room 18' x 12' x 8', giving only four square feet per child. A large desk for the teacher further reduced the floor place. In the other room which was smaller, containing 30 children, there was an "offensive odour." Another school was a "closet" in a yard 18' x 11' x 10', holes in the windows and other cracks were stopped with newspapers, and there was a shawl hanging across the doorway. There were no desks or reading books. In another school there were 27 children in a dirty room full of smoke.

1. Fearon Report p. 130 et seq.

Age	Total	Achievements not known	Achievements known	Reading			Writing			Ciphering			Sewing		
				Able	Badly	Not	Able	Badly	Not	Able	Badly	Not	Able	Badly	Not
Sunday School.	349	—	349	108	84	157	58	25	266	1	-	348	60	4	285
Never attended school.	1160	-	1160	2	1	1157	-	-	1160	-	-	1160	-	-	1160
Not known.	224	224	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Minors.	4512	377	4135	1517	601	2017	685	157	3293	317	41	3777	832	60	3243

* majority under 5

Age	Total	Achievements not known	Achievements known	Reading			Writing			Ciphering			Sewing		
				Able	Badly	Not	Able	Badly	Not	Able	Badly	Not	Able	Badly	Not
ADULTS Attended day school.	4350	18	4332	3796	215	321	2000	100	2232	1303	40	2989	2132	56	2144
Never attended day school.	405	-	405	35	55	315	5	1	399	1	-	404	95	2	308
Attendance not known.	275	269	6	6	-	-	6	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	6
Total.	9542	664	8878	5354	871	2653	2696	258	5924	1626	82	7170	3059	118	5701

+ mostly males.

D. Achievements.

In examining the achievements of education at this time two factors should be taken into account, the standards reached in the school subjects on the one hand and the civilising influence¹ of the schools on the other. The scholastic standards reached may be fairly easily and accurately measured, but the measurement of what is an equally important aspect of education, its civilising influence, is a much more subjective and difficult matter.

When the conditions prevailing in most schools are considered it is not surprising that the standards achieved in the basic school subjects were not satisfactory. The Manchester Statistical Society concluded its inquiry into the state of education in Pendleton in 1838 by claiming that most of those who attended school gained little or no practical value from their schooling and that the little² knowledge that was acquired was soon forgotten. This

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1. The "neighbourhood effect" of education is summarised in the Robbins Report as follows: "There are, of course, also important social and political benefits of education which accrue to the populace as a whole - a better informed electorate, more culturally alive neighbourhoods, a healthier and less crime-prone population and so on." (Higher Education, Appendix 4, Part III, paragraph 54).
 2. Manchester Statistical Society Report on the State of Education in Pendleton, 1838, p. 10.

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statement was supported by a table which set out the degree of proficiency in the basic subjects of various age groups which had attended different kinds of schools. Most of the 10 to 15 age group at the Dame or common schools could read, but 530 out of 881 could not write whilst 710 could not do simple arithmetic. Of the adults who had attended day school, over 50% could not write whilst over 67% could not do simple arithmetic. These figures indicate the enormous task facing the voluntary system if a population possessing a reasonable degree of literacy was to be produced in Manchester. Little progress was made towards achieving this end before 1870.

2

In October 1847 the Manchester Guardian re-published an article from the Journal of the Statistical Society, which dealt with the number of people signing the marriage register with a mark or with their name. During the period 30th June 1840 to 31st December 1844 the number of those signing with a mark in England and Wales had decreased by 1%. In Lancashire, however, the figure had increased by 1%.

1. See Table XIV p. 160 - 162.
2. Manchester Guardian 27th October, 1847.

Whilst this is not an adequate test of literacy and simply proves the ability to write one's name and nothing more, it does indicate a familiarity, or lack of it, with pen and paper. A further indication of the low standards in industrial Lancashire was given in the Report of the Rev. Frederick Watkins in 1847¹. After examining 15,466 children in National schools he produced the following summary of their attainments.

Learning the alphabet	2,492	or	1 in $6\frac{1}{2}$
Spelling monosyllables	3,029	or	1 in $5\frac{1}{9}$
Beginning to read	2,144	or	1 in 7
Reading simple narratives	3,795	or	1 in $4\frac{1}{15}$
Reading with ease	4,006	or	1 in 4

Watkins commented on these figures: "it hence appears that scarcely one quarter of the children in these schools are so far advanced as to justify the belief that their future tastes and habits will be materially advanced by the instruction they have received: half of them have no

1. Manchester Guardian 3rd November, 1847.

higher attainment than "beginning to read." He produced further figures which revealed that only half were learning to write, a third of these having progressed as far as writing on paper. Rather more than a third, 4,569, were learning arithmetic, but many could not work out a simple addition sum without help whilst only 351 had reached the three times table. He concluded: "There is doubtless a very low standard of attainment in the majority of these national schools." The blame for this situation he claimed lay with the poorly-qualified teachers who were faced with the impossible task of trying to educate too many children in too short a time.

In order to improve these standards by providing a greater incentive for the working classes, the Rev. Charles Richson tried to get Manchester employers to accept the principle that a literate employee was preferable to an illiterate one. He met with remarkable success. In 1848 he visited 132 large establishments in Manchester and 130 of them agreed to adopt this as a rule when making appointments. It would seem that the demand for literacy

1. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 21st June, 1852, p. 68.

was present, but that the means of providing it were inadequate.

Ten years later, by the time of the Newcastle Commission, there had been little progress. Summarising scholastic achievement in Rochdale ¹ Winder wrote that the standard of reading was "tolerable", but that writing was "indifferent" whilst arithmetic was "weak".

Further damning reports of the educational standards of the time were reported by the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society in its paper presented to the National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences in ² 1866. At a women's sewing class in Manchester during the cotton famine, out of 963 women aged 16 to 23, only 199 could read and write. These young women, it was pointed out, were the products of the factory schools and it was urged that no child under 13 should be employed unless certain standards had been attained. The Society included the contradictory proviso, however, that the standard should be as low as possible so as not to interfere with the labour market.

1. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2. p. 224.

2. See p.90.

The Fearon inquiry into the state of education in Manchester in 1869 contained further evidence of the low standard at the end of this period after payment by results had been in operation for eight years,¹ Out of a total of 15,934 children in 76 publicly provided schools 11,431 were in the first three standards. Four-fifths of the children were at or below the Third Standard which involved reading a short paragraph from an elementary reading book, writing a sentence from the same paragraph dictated in single words, and a sum in any of the four rules.² About 2,000 of these entered for this test failed completely; 413 of these were over ten years of age. He concluded: "These statistics show the extremely low condition in which elementary education is even in the very best schools of a borough which, like Manchester, has been so long occupied by an industrious and not fluctuating population of superior intelligence and in receipt of good and regular wages."³

1. See Table XV p. 169.

2. Curtis, op. cit., p. 259. A class of nine year old 'D' stream children of which I have experience could adequately cope with this test.

3. Fearon Report, p. 149.

Table XV showing standards achieved by children attending 76 inspected schools in Manchester in 1869.
 Taken from the Fearon Inquiry 1869, p.147.

Number of children presented for examination in Standards			Number of children who failed to pass completely in Standards								Number of children who failed to pass completely in the following Standards and aged over 10							
1 - 3	4 - 6	Beyond 6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1-3	4-6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1-3	4-6
11,431	2,929	1,574	868	599	520	535	191	9	1,987	823	63	136	214	377	186	97	413	660

West claims that by the mid 1860's something in the region of 90% of the working-class population was literate. To support this claim he uses a return of the educational requirements of men in the Navy and Marines in 1865 which shows also that young people were more accomplished than their elders. Boys had a literacy rate of 99% whilst seamen could claim only 89%.¹ The evidence for the Manchester area just outlined, however, does not support this claim and reveals a situation which does not admit of any complacency.

Whilst scholastic standards were far from satisfactory, the less tangible results, the effect of education on the quality of life of the society, though still modest, must not be overlooked in an estimate of the achievements of this period. This factor is not easy to measure but observers of the time repeatedly refer to their personal impression that the impact of such schools as existed, spread far beyond the pupils in the school and the learning of the 3 R's. In 1862 Kay-Shuttleworth protested that an examination of the 3 R's was no real measure of the work being done by the schools and that the civilising

1. West, op. cit., p. 132.

influence of the schools should be taken into account. Referring to children of the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, he indicated the immense task facing the schools and gave credit for some success. He wrote: "They probably have never lived but in a hovel; have never been in a street of a village or a town; are unacquainted with common usages of social life; perhaps never saw a book; are bewildered by the rapid motion of crowds; confused in an assemblage of scholars. They have to be taught to stand upright - to walk without a slouching gait - to sit without crouching like a sheep dog. _____ From personal experience of many years, I know that such children as these form a large proportion of the scholars which the schools of the cotton and woollen districts have to civilise and Christianise. A large part of that better work has often been accomplished, and the benumbed brain has been awakened from its torpidity, and fitted for the reception of knowledge which there has not been time to give."

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1. Kay-Shuttleworth, Four Periods of Education, Longmans, 1862, pp. 583 - 4.

Winder reporting to the Newcastle Commission pointed out that in reporting on the results achieved by the schools in the Rochdale district, the effect of education on the "intellectual habits" and social conditions should be considered. He wrote that there was a great demand for books from the Co-operative library,¹ newspapers and periodicals, thus indicating "a lively curiosity if it does not prove the existence of a sound instruction". He claimed also that education had refined the habits of society; there was much choral singing and the piano was a common sight. Manners were humanised and within living memory the outlying districts had been in a condition approaching barbarism. There had also developed a practical common sense as could be seen in the formation of the Pioneers Co-operative Society. In many homes, he wrote, the child's slate became a centre of interest for the whole family.²

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1. Books in the Co-operative library included such titles as Hazlitt's Essays, Redgauntlet, Bolingbroke's Letters, Childe Harold.
 2. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, pp. 239 - 41.

Kay-Shuttleworth, in surveying social progress in Manchester between 1832 and 1862, claimed that the key¹ lay with education. Progress would be slow, measured in generations rather than years, but slowly and surely the education given by one generation would improve the quality of society in the subsequent generations. "A second generation of educated parents will not be indifferent to the schooling of their children. A third may be willing² to make more abundant provision for it."

1. Kay-Shuttleworth op. cit., p. 153.

2. See Appendix to Chapter 3, p. 174.

Appendix to Chapter 3.

The following letter published in the Manchester Guardian of the 25th June, 1870 by a lady who signed herself A.S.E., though highly patronising in its tone, does give an insight into the popular mistrust of education which existed at this time.

" A little child of nearly five was one day jumping from one chair to another, then onto the floor, then again on the chairs with thick clogs on her feet, thus endangering her own limbs to say nothing of the detriment to the furniture. I mildly suggested to the mother, "Mary should begin to go to school soon I think?" _____ "Well, you see, mem," she said, "father's so afraid they would teach her too much and it might hurt her little head." _____ "But, I said, "it would not hurt her head to clap her hands and to sing little songs and to do as she is bid, and to see other little children doing the same as they are bid?" At this point father chanced to come in and he thought there was something in this. In about a fortnight Mary had begun to go to school and the father was soon charmed with her progress and improvement. The jumping faculty had found its vent in learning tender little verses and acquiring habits of discipline and obedience. If it could be shown that the chief object of national education is to train the character and to teach the young to do right because it is right, the artizans and even the poorer classes would be interested in sending their children to school instead of being indifferent and disinclined to it from the feeling that they would be taught many things that will never be of use to them."

Chapter 4 "Extra-Mural" Developments.

"The Day and Sunday Schools must do their work with children. The Evening Schools and Mechanics' Institutes must combine their function for youth between school age and manhood with the precedent and co-operating influences of civilisation".
(Kay-Shuttleworth, Four Periods of Education, p.153).

The number and quality of day schools in the Manchester area before 1870 was clearly inadequate for the needs of the district. There were, however, a considerable number and variety of agencies which offered educational opportunity of a kind. Whilst these had many limitations and must not be considered as an alternative to regular attendance at day school, their contribution to the educational life of Manchester was considerable and must not be overlooked in any assessment of educational opportunity and achievement at this time. These agencies may be put into two categories. There were the formal institutions such as the Sunday schools and the Mechanics' Institutes, whose prime function was to provide a form of education. On the other hand there were several informal agencies, such as the Co-operative Societies, Friendly Societies and Trade Unions whose prime function was not educational, but which nevertheless helped either directly or indirectly to educate nineteenth century society.

To understand the formation and success of these bodies, the fact that society in the nineteenth century was becoming increasingly mobile must be borne in mind. No longer need a man remain in that place in society into which he had been born as had been largely the case in the eighteenth century. Opportunities in industry and commerce were opening up on every hand and in order to seize these opportunities and improve themselves, men began to seek education, from a variety of sources, as a way to self-improvement. It is significant that one of the best-selling authors of the century should have been Samuel Smiles, who expressed in popular terms the doctrine of self-help.

Smiles quoted Scott in support of not only education, but self-education: "The best part of every man's education is that which he gives to himself."¹ In fairness to Smiles, it must be pointed out that his advocacy of education was not so completely materialistic, as a means of advancement, as it might at first seem to be. He regarded education, not simply as a ladder to success, but as a means also of improving the position of the working class generally and

1. Samuel Smiles, Self Help, Murray, Centenary edition, 1958, p. 302.

making the individual virtuous and happy.¹ To most people, however, his message seemed simple and direct, that by effort men could improve themselves and education seemed an obvious path to advancement. This was the thought which prompted many of those young men and women who, the normal day schools having either failed to reach them or failed to teach them, sought to achieve literacy, or, if literate, sought to increase their standard of education through the extra-mural agencies.

A Sunday Schools.

The Sunday school movement is usually said to have begun with the efforts of Robert Raikes, a Gloucester newspaper owner, at the end of the eighteenth century. He established schools for local children employed in the pin factories, who were released from their work on Sunday. The scheme was publicised through the Gentleman's Magazine and spread and in 1785 the "Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools in the different Counties of England", was founded. The principal aim of the schools which were subsequently established was to teach the scriptures and generally civilise the rough and ready children who came within their reach. To do this the schools

1. Asa Briggs, Victorian People, Pelican, 1965, p. 129.

had necessarily to teach reading, but subjects beyond
this were never encouraged, a fact which constantly¹
limited the educational significance of these schools.
They did, however, fill a very considerable gap in the
educational scene and they spread rapidly; as early
as 1787 there were 250,000 pupils attending these schools.²

The beginnings of the Sunday school movement can be
seen in Manchester during the early years of the eighteenth
century when Nathaniel Gaskell left £4 per annum to teach
poor children to read the Bible.³ It was not until the
later years of the eighteenth century, however, that the
Sunday schools really made their appearance. In 1780,
the same year that Raikes opened his school in Gloucester,
several schools were opened in Manchester and the results
were so good that in 1784 the Borough Reeve and Constable
issued an address recommending the further establishment
of Sunday schools. A committee was subsequently formed
with representatives from all denominations. The movement

1. Barnard, op. cit., p. 10.

2. Ibid, p. 11.

3. Manchester and Salford Sunday School Union, Centenary
Souvenir Handbook, 1924, p. 8.

flourished and the committee survived until 1790 when religious differences forced it to disband. In 1786 a rule was passed by the committee which introduced writing into the Sunday school curriculum and by 1788¹ there were 4,000 scholars on the books.

When the committee was disbanded in 1790 the Sunday schools carried on individually until, in 1824, the teachers of the York Street Baptist Sunday school conferred with other Sunday school teachers and on the 28th January, 1824, the Manchester and Salford Sunday School Union was² formed. The formation of the Union undoubtedly helped the development of the Sunday school movement in Manchester. The Union met three times a year and frequently problems of an educational, as opposed to a religious nature were discussed. In its First General Report published in 1831 it was declared "that the object of these meetings shall be to communicate and receive information relative to the

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, p. 9.

methods that have been found best adapted to promote the improvement of children in the elementary parts of education and their progress in religious knowledge.¹ Amongst the subjects discussed at these meetings were, Rewards, Methods of Teaching and the Promotion of Regular Attendance.² The teachers at the Sunday schools were frequently middle-class men and women who taught in the schools as part of their religious and social duty, though many were of working class origin who had received their own education at the Sunday schools. All teaching was on a voluntary basis. In 1842 the Manchester and Salford schools separated to form two distinct Unions and the importance of the Sunday schools in the district generally declined as they became almost exclusively concerned with religious teaching.

The Manchester and Salford Sunday schools were always well attended since they provided the only possible source of education for many children and adults in an area where more formal day-time education was not available. By

1. Ibid, p. 10.

2. Ibid, p. 11.

1834, 42,950 scholars attended 117 Sunday schools, 85 in Manchester, 32 in Salford, and, of these, 29,529 received no education other than that provided by the Sunday schools.¹ In Bury in 1835, out of some 5,000 children aged between five and fifteen, 4,300 attended 12 Sunday schools, 3,102 of these receiving no other education.² Joseph Adshead, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee to inquire into education in Manchester and Salford in 1852, gave the number of Sunday schools as 115 with a total enrolment of 58,869.³ The Rev. William McKerrow giving evidence before the same committee, gave rather lower figures, 42,389 on the roll of the Manchester Sunday schools, with an average attendance of 31,424 and 10,086 in Salford Sunday schools with an average attendance of 7,081, giving 52,475 on the combined rolls with an average attendance of 38,505.⁴ Whichever figures are taken

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1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p. 111, p. IV.
 2. Ibid, Bury, 1835, p. 1.
 3. Documents relative to the evidence given by J. Adshead before the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) Table V.
 4. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853, p. 3.

they represent a considerable proportion of the population of Manchester and Salford, McKerrow gave it as 1 in $7\frac{1}{6}$, benefiting from the education provided. The Newcastle Commission also revealed the popularity of the Sunday schools. Rochdale had 92 schools with 20,290¹ pupils. Many of the pupils in the Sunday schools in the district were adults and in Rochdale, approximately 5,000 pupils, 25%, were over 15, more than half of these being women who were virtually barred from attendance² at evening schools by convention and household duties.

The contribution of these schools to the educational life of the area was considerable. Above all, as has been seen, they provided education for thousands, both young and old, who otherwise would have had no contact whatsoever with anything approaching formal education. Winder, reporting to the Newcastle Commission, summed up this aspect of the Sunday schools' work when he wrote: "They do interest thousands, who without the opportunity they afford would be

1. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p. 236.

2. Ibid

inactive, in the intellectual as well as religious improvement of their neighbours; they bring, to some extent, the more uncultivated portion of the people into contact with more instructed minds; and they supply a weekly recurring stimulus - to multitudes whose minds without them would absolutely stagnate.¹ As Winder pointed out, not only did they provide the initial,² and in some cases the only, education for many people, but perhaps equally important, they provided continuity in that the work of the Sunday schools helped to reinforce the skills learned, often sketchily, at the day schools. To many people the education provided by the Sunday schools was the gateway to wider opportunity and enabled many to live a much fuller life than would have been possible without that education. Parents sent their children to Sunday schools very often, not for the religious instruction they received, but to become literate and, through literacy, get better jobs.³ Several successful Sunday school pupils became preachers and missionaries.⁴

1. Newcastle Report, Vol.2, p. 236.

2. The Oldham poet Samuel Laycock, born 1826, acquired most of his education at Sunday school. His biographer wrote: "Only those who are familiar with the days of which we are writing will know what an immense influence the Sunday schools in Lancashire had upon the lives of the working people". (The Collected Writings of Samuel Laycock, Ed George Milner, W.E. Clegg, Oldham, 1908, p. viii).

3. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853, p. 3.

4. Ibid, 21st June, 1852, p. 302.

As well as the direct educational benefit all the observers of the period were convinced of the beneficial effect the Sunday schools had on notoriously unruly districts. The Manchester Statistical Society, which thought little of them, gave full credit to the part they played in social education. Through the religious education provided, the habits of regular churchgoing instilled, the friendly contact between people under wholesome circumstances, those who attended the Sunday schools undoubtedly gained "some of the happiest and the most valuable results of education,"¹ Adshead twenty years later said that Sunday schools had had over the past thirty years "a vast moral influence in producing that quiet and good order which so extensively prevails amongst our operative classes."² He quoted an army officer stationed in Manchester as saying that Manchester, which contained "all the elements of combustion" was one of the most orderly districts he had ever served in.³ McKerrow was particularly impressed at the peaceful mixing of the working

1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, p. 14.

2. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 21st June, 1832, p. 302.

3. Ibid.

and middle classes in the Sunday schools.¹

There was also certain fringe benefits which the Sunday schools provided for the educational life of the district. They were a significant source of teachers in the day schools.² Many of them ran evening schools, clothing and benefit societies, mutual improvement societies and provided libraries. Of the 117 Sunday schools in Manchester and Salford in the 1830's, 74 ran either libraries or benefit societies.³ Many of the Rochdale Sunday schools in the 1850's also ran libraries which, Winder observed, helped to preserve the literacy acquired at school, with many books of general interest in addition to the usual religious works.⁴

The Sunday schools did, however, have serious limitations, the most serious being the curriculum offered. The main aim of the Sunday schools was religious instruction and, although reading was usually

1. Ibid, 6th June, 1853, p.36.

2. See p.33.

3. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester, 1834, p.13.

4. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p.235.

taught, the subjects offered rarely went beyond this. Writing and arithmetic had been introduced in 1786, but by the 1830's these subjects had almost disappeared. Of the 86 Sunday schools in Manchester in the 1830's, only ten taught reading and three arithmetic on Sunday, the great bulk taught religion and reading only.¹ In Salford,² similarly, the majority taught only reading and religion, whilst in Bury, out of 12 schools, three taught writing and one writing and arithmetic in addition to religion and reading.³ The witnesses at the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1852 were unanimous in their complaints that the usefulness of the Sunday schools was severely limited by their failure to teach anything beyond reading; only in the evening schools attached to the Sunday schools, did writing and arithmetic appear. Even the method of teaching reading was open to criticism, the main problem being that the scriptures were used as the reading books and the difficult words encountered by the pupils made

1. Ibid

2. Ibid (Salford) p. 16.

3. Ibid (Bury) p. 1.

the task of reading, unnecessarily complicated, and
also produced a distaste for reading.¹ Winder complained
that in Rochdale Sunday schools, reading was taught only
to the lowest classes and that instruction was mainly
oral.² Concerning the role of the Sunday school he
concluded that they "absorb, I cannot but think, an amount
of energy and attention disproportionate to their real
value,³ great though it may be."

B. Mechanics' Institutes and Working Men's Colleges.

At the other end of the scale from the Sunday schools were the Mechanics' Institutes, with their emphasis on scientific education. The impact of the Industrial Revolution gave rise to the need for instruction in subjects connected with industrial machines and techniques for working men and it was this which prompted Dr. George Birkbeck to begin a course of lectures for the working men.

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1. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853, p. 3.
 2. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2. p. 234.
 3. Ibid

of Glasgow in 1799. These classes developed into Mechanics' Institutes which rapidly spread throughout the industrial districts, mainly in the north of England. The Manchester Institute was established in 1824 and its aim, as set out in its rules, was "for the purpose of enabling Mechanics and Artizans, of whatever trade they may be, to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of their trade." ¹ Also it was hoped the Institute would provide "pleasant and refeshing employment," ² during the workmen's leisure time. The aim was not to teach the craft itself, but the science behind it.

By 1834 there were more than 1,000 members of the Manchester Institute. ³ Membership cost £1 per annum and the government of the Institute was democratic, being in the hands of a Board of Directors chosen annually from members who were over 21 and had been members for over two years. ⁴ A further Institute, known as the New

1. Manchester Mechanics' Institute, Annual Report, 1828, p. 23.

2. Ibid

3. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, p. 29.

4. Ibid

Mechanics' Institute, was established in 1829.¹ The purely scientific character of the Institution changed in the 1830's when cultural and recreational studies were introduced.² In the 1840's vocational classes were added to the curriculum.³

The significance of the Mechanics' Institutes in the early years of the nineteenth century cannot be doubted. The Manchester Statistical Society wrote in the 1830's: "It is a very gratifying fact that many individuals attribute their advancement in life to the opportunity which this Institute has offered them to improve themselves."⁴ It was pointed out that the Institute enabled people of relatively modest means to come into contact with higher learning, such as the

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1. Ibid
 2. Mabel Tylecote, Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Manchester University Press, 1957, p. 133.
 3. Ibid, p. 161.
 4. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, p. 28.

elementary schools of the day could not provide and that they were taught by men of judgement and ability. To many working men the Institute was a means of gaining promotion. One man working in a dye works, who must have been typical of many, became indispensable to his employer owing to his ability to read technical books in French, an accomplishment acquired as a result of lessons given by the Institute.

Like the Sunday schools, however, the Mechanics' Institutes had serious limitations, in that they failed to cater for the real needs of the labouring classes and tended to become identified with the middle-class and the upper working class, clerks and skilled craftsmen. By 1830, half the membership of the Manchester Institute was made up of this superior class; by the end of the 1830's this proportion had increased to two-thirds¹ and was more than two-thirds by the 1840's. Richson, in his evidence before the Select Committee in 1852, regretted the fact that "very few fustian jackets" attended

1. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 139.

the Manchester Mechanics' Institute.¹ The following classification of the members of the Manchester Institute,² made by the Manchester Statistical Society in 1834, gives some indication of the nature of the problem. Clerks and bookkeepers of various kinds, along with skilled craftsmen predominated. Mill hands numbered only 59 out of a total membership of 1,068.

Merchants and manufacturers	24
Clerks and salesmen	234
Warehousemen	159
Other warehouse hands	23
Mechanics, Engineers	69
Other mill hands	59
Shopkeepers and master tradesmen	43
Assistants in shops	32
Master joiners, painters, masons	9
Journeyman joiners	34
Ditto other branches of building	23
Journeyman in handicraft trades	64
Schoolmaster	18
Artists, designers, engravers	32
Professional men	18
No trade classified above	36
Ladies	15
Youths	176
Total	1,068

1. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 21st June, 1852, p. 362.
2. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, pp. 28 - 29.

There were two reasons for this situation. In the first place the whole character of the Institutes, from the fees they charged; to the curriculum and method of study they provided, appealed to a higher social class. As these Institutes became increasingly identified with a higher social class, the working class inevitably began to regard them as belonging to that class. The curriculum was not generally one which appealed to the working class. By the 1830's the Manchester Institute was offering arithmetic, algebra, geometry, writing, which really involved the writing of compositions, not the basic skills, grammar, French, German, Latin, singing, figure, landscape, and flower drawing, architectural drawing and mechanical drawing. The Manchester Statistical Society¹ commenting on this, wrote that it was designed for " a class considerably superior to the really operative class."² The nature of the teaching, which tended to be based on lectures instead of formal classes, also helped to drive away those whose elementary education had been scanty and who would have had difficulty in understanding and keeping

1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, p. 28.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

up with a programme of lectures.

The second, and perhaps most serious reason why the working classes failed to attend the Institutes was this fact that their poor grounding in the 3 R's made it impossible for them to benefit from the instruction provided. Elementary schools were introduced into the Manchester Mechanics' Institutes in 1834 to try to overcome this, but they were discontinued in 1838 and elementary evening classes also failed to overcome the lack of basic education.¹ Thus whilst the Mechanics' Institutes were thriving organisations providing education of a higher character, they could only be associated with these classes which had already enjoyed a considerable amount of education.

The evidence before the Select Committee of 1852 was unanimous on this point and the evidence of Dr. John Watts is worth considering at length.² He claimed that the Ancoats Lyceum, opened in 1838, failed to prosper

1. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 139.

2. Report of the Select Committee on Education (Manchester and Salford) 6th June, 1853, pp. 74 - 7.

because of the lack of elementary education in the area which meant that working men in this poor-class, densely-populated area, could not attend the classes provided, and to support his claim he handed to the Committee extracts from the directors' reports. The reports from 1839 to 1849 were fairly optimistic, but attendance was declining and the report for 1850 warned: "Before the advantages of the mechanics' institutes can be fairly estimated by the labouring population, it is essentially requisite that an enlarged system of national education should have laid the foundations for that strong desire for information upon which alone it is possible to build such institutions as the Lyceum. At present all which the directors can do is to keep up a good elementary class for youths and young men." The same point was repeated in the reports for 1851 and 1852 and at the end of 1852 the Lyceum was closed. Watts said that he had personally noticed whilst acting as librarian for the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, that working-class

1. Ibid

members did not remain members for long; the average stay was nine months only. The type of book borrowed from the library also indicated a low level of educational attainment.¹ He concluded from this: " I submit that here is proof that elementary instruction must be acquired in childhood else there is little hope of the man; a sound system of elementary instruction alone can become a foundation for self-culture, or for refined literary tastes."²

The failure of the Mechanics' Institutes to cater for the needs of the working-class, led to the formation of Working Men's Colleges in the district. The first of these colleges was at Ancoats, established in January 1857, followed a year later by the Manchester College and the Salford College in June 1858. They were designed to provide post-elementary education which was directed at the working-class, their capabilities and their needs. The statement of the aims of the Manchester Working Men's College³ issued when the College was opened, pointed out

1. Ibid., p. 69.

2. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Manchester Working Men's College, Scrapbook of Cuttings, Manchester Central Reference Library, 373.3 M 10.

that the popular lectures by which the Mechanics' Institutes had hoped to fill the gap in working-class education had been of limited value. Whilst they might provide entertainment and much useful information "knowledge so gained is found to have little value as a means of mental training: the true end of education is not merely to fill the memory with detached facts, however useful and interesting, but rather to call out the latent faculties of the mind". The Working Men's Colleges aimed at providing class teaching, as opposed to lectures, which would provide a thorough and systematic education, as opposed to the rather superficial education provided by the Mechanics' Institutes. Teachers at the Colleges were mainly voluntary teachers from Owen's College, the future Manchester University.

These Colleges held classes in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, English language and literature, common law, political economy, political philosophy, physiology, Latin and geography and there was also a Bible class. ¹ Students had to be 16 and

1. Manchester Working Men's College, Scrapbook.

had to be able to read, write and work the four rules of arithmetic. A 2/6d. entry fee was charged with a payment of 2/-d. per term for each course taken.¹

The Manchester College was an immediate success. During the first term there were 231 regular attenders, 70 to 80 of these being of the operative class, with clerks as the next largest group with 60.² Most of the more popular classes were filled to capacity. This initial success did not last, however, and the number of students declined, though the proportion of working-class students remained the same, about 30% of the total. By the end of the first year the number of registered students had fallen to 163, the operatives numbering 54; by the end of the second year the numbers were 128 and 40, and 98 and 26 by the end of the third year.³ One reason for the decline in membership was given as the activities of the Rifle Volunteers in the district which absorbed most of the leisure time of many

1. Ibid

2. Ibid

3. Manchester Working Men's College, Second Report, 1860, p. 4.

of the members.¹ In July 1861 the Manchester Working Men's College was incorporated with Owen's College.²

The Salford College, however, prospered and was very active as late as 1875. From 260 students in 1858, the College rose to a peak of 767 by 1869 and from then on only once dropped below the 500 mark.³ The proportion of working-class students was relatively high with about one third coming from this class.⁴ After 1866 the reports ceased to give a breakdown of the students by occupation, but by this time elementary education generally was increasing and this would tend to increase working-class attendance. In its Second Report the College wrote: "Instructors need not fear the want of eager and willing pupils; pupils who, after a day of heavy toil, make a hasty meal and shorter toilet and hurry away to their evening studies."⁵ Perhaps one

1. Ibid

2. Scrapbook, op. cit.

3. Salford Working Men's College, Reports, under dates quoted.

4. Ibid

5. Salford Working Men's College, Second Report, 1860, p. 6.

reason for the success of the Salford College was that it did a great deal to provide basic education to those who had missed the opportunity, and refresh the memories of many who had attended school briefly, as a preparation, so that they could join their more fortunate colleagues in the higher classes.

C. Schools for the underprivileged.

There was very little provision for the educational needs of children who were physically or mentally handicapped. Only two schools came into this category, a school for the deaf and dumb and a school for the blind. The Manchester Deaf and Dumb School was established in 1825 and was financed by private subscription and a small fee was paid by the parents of the children who attended, which covered both boarding and tuition costs. It catered for the needs of afflicted children aged between nine and fourteen and by 1834 there were 47 pupils. It was a remarkably efficient school when compared with the usual standards of schools in the 1830's. The curriculum included grammar, needlework, geography, history, domestic and moral duties and religion, as well as the 3 R's, and the school was under the charge of a master, reported as being efficient, two assistants and a matron. The school flourished and

1. Report of the Manchester Statistical Society into the State of Education in Manchester in 1834, p. 23.

by 1870 the number of children had increased to 150.¹
Henshaw's Asylum for the Blind was established in 1830
as a result of a bequest from the estate of Thomas
Henshaw, an Oldham hatter, who died in 1810.² By 1870
there were 78 pupils, all boarders and the 3 R's,
handicrafts and music were taught.³

Education for the socially underprivileged was
more plentiful and was provided by the Ragged schools.
These schools, reported to have been originated by an
ex-sailor, John Pounds of Portsmouth in 1818,⁴ spread
quickly, being developed by Lord Shaftesbury. They were
designed to cater for the needs of the very lowest ranks
of society and their function was "to give both religious
and secular education to those children who are left to
gather their morals from the streets and their information

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1. G.C.T. Bartley, The Schools for the People, Bell and Daldy, 1871, p. 357.
 2. Hartley Bateson, A Centenary History of Oldham, Oldham County Borough Council, 1949, pp. 118 - 9.
 3. Bartley, op. cit., p. 352.
 4. Curtis, op. cit., p. 219.

from the habits of their older companions".¹ The first Ragged school in Manchester was established by Edwin Gibb and James Brierley in John Street, Hulme, in 1853.² A second school was started in 1854.³ In 1858 the Manchester and Salford Ragged Schools Union was founded to further the development of the Ragged Schools in the area. It was hoped that ultimately there would be "not a district uncovered or a child uncared for",⁴ and to this end the Union collected and distributed donations and spread information about the activities of the Ragged schools. The formation of this Union certainly fostered the development of these schools and after the first year of its existence there were 12 schools,

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1. Manchester and Salford Ragged Schools Union, 1st Anniversary Meeting, 1859, pp. 5 - 6.
 2. Manchester and Salford Shaftesbury Society (formerly Ragged Schools Union) Centenary Report, 1959, p. 4.
 3. Ibid
 4. Ibid, p. 5.

with 5,000 pupils on the register and an average attendance of 3,253.¹ By 1879 the number of schools had increased to 29, but after that date the number declined as the need for such schools disappeared, their function being taken over by the normal day schools, attendance at them being enforced, and the industrial schools for those children whom it was difficult to get off the streets.²

These schools were staffed with working-class teachers who seem to have commanded considerable respect. It was reported that the Angel Meadow district of Manchester a rough area where police patrolled in pairs, teachers and officers of the Union, walked singly and unmolested.³ They taught the 3 R's as well as religion and there were in addition sewing classes and physical education sessions.

1. Ibid, p. 6.

2. See Chapter 5.

3. Manchester and Salford Shaftesbury Society, Centenary Report, 1959, p. 6.

Apart from the normal Sunday meetings the Ragged schools held classes on Sunday and weekday evenings; scholars were sent to Sunday school, placed in day schools and found jobs where possible. Penny Savings Banks were introduced in 1860.¹ Parents also were encouraged to come to these schools, usually to attend Bible classes. These classes were attended by adults "of the most ignorant, filthy and depraved characted," but it was found that they improved following a period of attendance.²

D. Mutual Improvement.

This period also saw the development of a variety of organisations which either directly or indirectly, helped the spread of education in the district. Mutual improvement societies were established, either as independent bodies, or in association with Sunday schools

1. Manchester and Salford Ragged Schools Union,
Second Report, 1860.

2. Ibid, First Report, 1859.

and Mechanics' Institutes and Working Men's Colleges. These were semi-educational, semi-social societies which catered for the needs and tastes of men with a sound basic education. Their meetings usually took the form of a paper, presented by one of the members, followed by discussion.

The Manchester Mutual Improvement Society was established in 1833 as a branch of the Mechanics' Institute and had between 70 and 80 members. Its aim was "to facilitate the acquisition of useful knowledge and to promote social intercourse amongst the members".¹ Meetings were every two weeks and the discussion, ranging over a wide variety of subjects, was very free and earnest. So uninhibited were the meetings that the directors of the Institute began to have doubts about the wisdom of permitting the discussion of controversial, current questions.² Some of the less controversial topics were "On the tendency

1. Quoted Tylecote, op. cit., p. 162.

2. Ibid

of novel reading," "on the cultivation of Roses,"¹
"on the character of Shylock," "on Emigration".

There were many other such groups in the area, the two most prominent being the Rusholme Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society, established in 1840 and still active in 1890 and the Ancoats Recreation Committee.

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The Rusholme Society produced handwritten magazines with articles contributed by the members, whilst the Ancoats society organised regular cultural evenings with lectures, readings and music.³ A mutual improvement society in

Rochdale, however, "for the purpose of encouraging original composition and conversational discussions of topics of general interest," was not well supported.

Its members complained that the members presenting the paper to the society, simply took it, word for word from an encyclopaedia.⁴

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1. Ibid, Appendix X p.304.
 2. Rusholme Mutual Improvement Society Reports, Manchester Central Reference Library M.S. f 374 - 5 M 10.
 3. Ancoats Recreation Committee, Reports, Manchester Central Reference Library 374 - 5 M 1.
 4. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2, p. 235.

Foremost amongst the agencies which were not primarily educational, but which nevertheless helped to advance education, were the co-operative societies. The co-operative movement, which began in Rochdale in 1844, developed out of the nineteenth century desire for improvement through self-help. Its motives were primarily economic, but from the earliest years, the co-operatives were aware of the possibility of using their influence and position to improve the social life of the neighbourhood which they served and they frequently helped to provide educational facilities. Winder, commenting on the educational aspect of the co-operative society's activity in Rochdale in 1858, wrote: "by way of proof that its members generally regard education as an essential element in their design, it is a rule of the society to deduct yearly $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ from profits for educational purposes." In that year this sum amounted to £250 a year and was used to provide a library with 2,200 volumes, a newsroom and a school for children charging 2d. a month. Rooms

1. Newcastle Report, Vol. 2. p. 242.

were given free for groups of 20, aged between 14 and 40, for "mutual instruction." In 1864 a special education fund was set aside to provide popular lectures and in 1873 an education committee of the society began to provide classes in science, art¹ and French.

The Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society was founded in 1858 in the Ancoats district. In the following year a library was established and a literary committee formed to produce a newspaper. By 1860 the society was, like the Rochdale society, setting aside $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the profits to be devoted to education and a half-day holiday was given to the employees in order that they might 're-create' themselves.² It is significant that most of the educational and mutual improvement societies of the day provided libraries since a vital requirement for

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1. G.J. Holyoake, History of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, Self Help by the People Series, Swan Sonnenschien, 1900, pp. 50 - 51.
 2. Our Centenary Year, Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society, 1959, p. 4.

self-education is ready access to a large supply of books, magazines and newspapers. ¹ England during the first half of the nineteenth century had a lower proportion of libraries than any comparable country ² and Manchester can scarcely be declared to be an exception, yet in many respects the area was reasonably fortunate.

Chetham's Library, founded in 1653, had a long tradition of service to the community, but its appeal was narrow. The fact that it closed at 4. 0 p.m. meant that it was of no use to the working-classes. The libraries provided by the Mechanics' Institutes, the Working Men's Colleges and the Co-operative movement helped to fill the gap, but it was not until the late 1840's that publicly-provided libraries began to appear. An Act of 1845 empowered towns of more than 10,000 to levy a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to establish libraries. Few towns

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1. The Manchester poet, Richard Wright Proctor, who was born in 1816 received no formal education and taught himself to read. He was a voracious reader, had many poems published in the local press by the age of 20 and his first book of poems was published in 1855. He was a barber and established a circulating library in conjunction with his shop. (T. Swindells, Famous Manchester Men, Scrapbook of press cuttings Manchester Central Reference Library).
 2. Pauline Gregg, A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760 - 1963, Harrop, 1964, p. 262.

took advantage of this but the first two libraries to be established were in Warrington in 1848 and Salford in 1849.¹

On the fringe of the educational life of the district were many institutions which, although they provided no direct or formal education, gave incidentally a wealth of experience, contact with other people, for a common end, practice in public speaking, administration and organisation, and contact with books. Like the co-operative societies, the Friendly Societies were basically economic organisations, but they also played a marginal rule in social education, teaching the working-class thrift, and co-operation and encouraging civilised relationships amongst people whose working and living conditions made for brutality. These societies imposed fines for the breach of their rules, which covered not only the financial affairs of the society, but included the conduct of the members. Quarrelling and swearing came within the jurisdiction of the societies.² Trade Unions similarly brought working men together for a

1. Ibid

2. H. J. M. Maltby, Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Vol. XLVI, p. 39.

common purpose and their organisation and administration¹ involved a considerable amount of mental activity. It was the churches, and particularly the chapels, however, which, Sunday schools aside, exerted the greatest influence. "The chapel fostered in men with little or no education, pushed out into the rough world at an early age, a strong sense of duty, conscience, self-respect and passion for justice, the virtues which public schools developed in the more fortunate. They not only strengthened religious faith, but quickened the sense of latent² intellectual powers."

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1. Tom Ashton, born 1841, who became the very powerful leader of the Oldham Operative Cotton Spinners' Association and subsequently, the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, was educated at evening schools only. He was prevented by ill-health from becoming the Oldham Liberal Party's candidate at the 1906 election, a seat which he would undoubtedly have won, and he was a highly respected figure in the industrial and political life of the district. His higher education was acquired through his union activities. (D. Bickerstaffe, Politics and Party Organisation in Oldham 1832 - 1904 . Durham University N.A. Dissertation, January 1964, pp. 247 - 251.)
 2. Alan Bullock, Life and Times of Ernest Bevin, Heinemann 1960, p. 9.

Chapter 5. Educational opportunity 1870 to 1895.

"It is hardly too much to say that the years which have elapsed since the passing of the Foster Act have witnessed, especially in the towns, the growth of a new public sentiment in favour of education" (Michael Sadler - quoted C.H. Wyatt, The History and Development of the Manchester School Board, Manchester Statistical Society, 1903, p. 85).

A. Filling the gaps.

The aim of the 1870 Education Act was "to bring elementary education within the range of every English home, ay^e, and within the reach of those children who have no homes,"¹ by either helping the voluntary system to make good any deficiencies that existed or providing schools, through locally elected School Boards, where this was not possible. The country was divided into school districts. Manchester and Salford which had hitherto been treated as a single unit so far as education was concerned, were now separated, and the deficiencies and requirements in each area were to be examined by the municipal

1. W.E. Foster, Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the Progress of the Elementary Education Bill, p. 11. Quoted Curtis op. cit., p. 277.

boroughs and civil parishes. A period of grace was granted to the denominations, which were aided by building grants, to make good any deficiencies discovered. If they failed to do this School Boards were to be established with the right to impose a local rate in order to fill the remaining gaps by providing their own schools or assisting existing schools. It had been suggested that denominational schools should be helped directly out of the local rates, but because of opposition this was dropped and help was given by an Exchequer grant, but the same principle crept in unobserved with Clause 25. This required the Boards to pay the fee of poor children, since fees had been retained, at any publicly-provided school, thus providing an income out of the local rate for the denominational schools.¹ The Manchester School Board made extensive use of its powers under this clause. The Act did not make attendance compulsory, but Clause 74 did empower the Boards to make attendance compulsory if they wished.

The Manchester School Board was the first to be

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 128.

appointed in England and Wales. In August 1870 the City Council applied to the Department of Education for the establishment of a School Board. There was widespread feeling that Manchester, which had been in the forefront of agitation for a system of education provided by the community since the 1840's, could not wait until a Board was forced upon it. The newly elected Board held its first meeting on the 15th December, 1870. Other towns in the district were quick to follow this example and Salford, Bolton, Rochdale and Oldham all had School Boards by the end of 1871. The problems facing these early Boards remained basically those which had troubled education in the Manchester district since 1833, too few places, poor attendance and the low quality of much of the education which was provided, but the emphasis was changing. The task of extending educational opportunity became increasingly one of enforcing attendance and making sure that those places which were provided were filled. It was to this task that the Boards mainly turned their attention for the next 25 years.

1. Curtis, op. cit., p. 282.

Clause 74 of the Act empowered the Boards to frame bye-laws to enforce compulsory attendance between the ages of five and thirteen . The Manchester Board appointed a Committee on the 30th January, 1871, to frame the necessary legislation which received the royal assent on the 3rd November, 1871. The Education Aid Society had proved beyond doubt that no other method than compulsion would succeed in overcoming the problem of non-attendance, yet almost a year had passed between the election of the Board and the passage of this bye-law. The Board, however, could not and would not make full use of its powers and the attendance figures remained unsatisfactory. The Board was reluctant to use the full weight of its authority, accepting most excuses put forward by parents to explain a child's absence. It was generally known that the Board would not prosecute parents whose children made 50% of the possible number of attendances, and this minimum requirement became the maximum.

When the Board did decide to prosecute the process

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1. Dr. John Watts, The Working of the First Manchester School Board, Paper read to the Manchester Statistical Society, 12th November, 1873, p. 3.
 2. C.H. Wyatt, The History and Development of the Manchester School Board, Paper read to the Manchester Statistical Society, 9th December, 1903, p. 71.

was made unnecessarily difficult by the legal requirement that the teacher should attend the court in person to prove the register. The inconvenience which this caused naturally tended to keep prosecutions to a minimum.¹ To make the task of enforcing attendance even more difficult there sprang up at this time, especially in areas where there was new housing some distance away from the publicly-provided schools, a number of private schools of doubtful quality, the purpose of which was simply to enable parents to escape the School Board's officers by sending their children to these schools.² A short amending Act in 1873 which simplified the procedure for prosecuting parents who did not send their children to school, helped to overcome the first of these difficulties. The "Regulations as to legal proceedings" accepted a certificate from the principal teacher of a public elementary school stating that a child's attendance had been unsatisfactory as sufficient evidence. At the same time the Board established a rota committee of five, so called because it met by rota each Wednesday afternoon, to examine the excuses put forward

1. Watts, op. cit., p. 3.

2. Reports of the Committee of Council on Education 1877, p. 406.

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by parents more fully. Little could be done about the second problem, however, until good quality schools were erected away from the centre of the city in the new housing areas.

The Board also made increasing use of the Industrial and Truant Schools in order to get the most persistent offenders off the streets. These schools were boarding schools. Some of them like the "Wellesley" at Newcastle-on-Tyne and the "Clio" at Bangor, were training ships, where children who were on the fringe of a life of crime could be sent.² Out of 322 children committed by the Industrial Schools' Officers between 1873 and 1876, 171 were committed for vagrancy, 58 were criminals, whilst 93 were "incorrigibles".³ The Board had no Industrial Schools of its own until 1888 and sent its children in need of this kind of training to schools as far away as Liverpool, York and Newcastle. In 1888 the Board established a Day Industrial School in Mill Street, Ancoats,

1. Watts, op. cit. p.3.

2. Magistrates were empowered to do this by the Industrial Schools Act, 1857.

3. Manchester School Board, 2nd Report 1876, p. 14.

where this type of child could be sent on a daily basis, and in large numbers, as a last attempt to enforce compliance with the bye-laws, before taking the children away from their parents. "Many children who live upon the streets, and ultimately find their way into ordinary Industrial Schools, or drift into crime, may at an early age be taught in the Day Industrial School habits of honesty and industry, which will influence their conduct in after life."¹ The number of children committed to these schools was never great, but a steady stream was passed on to them.

These measures brought considerable improvement in the attendance figures by 1873,² but the situation was not such that the Board could relax its efforts. In November, 1875, the Managers of the Manchester Jews' School protested to the Board about continuing poor attendance in the city,³ accusing the Board of not

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1. Manchester School Board, 6th Report, 1888, p. 38.
 2. See Table XVIII, p. 224.
 3. C.B. Dolton, The Manchester School Board, Durham University M. Ed. thesis 1956, p. 88.

Table XVI. Number of Manchester children committed to the Industrial Schools, 1870 to 1891. See Manchester School Board, 7th Report, 1891, p. 25.

	Ordinary Industrial School	Day Industrial School	Total
1870 - 73	282	-	283
1873 - 76	322	-	322
1876 - 79	434	-	434
1879 - 82	442	-	442
1882 - 85	451	-	451
1885 - 88	435	-	435
1888 - 91	417	618	1,035
	2,784	618	3,402

enforcing the bye-laws properly, pointing to 1,116 cases of irregular attendance reported, 26 brought before the rota committee and only seven parents summoned. By 1876 the situation, however, had improved and the Board was seriously investigating and prosecuting cases of non-attendance. During the three year period of office of the second Board, 1874 to 1876, 11,121 cases were brought before the rota committee and 8,959 parents were warned, the committee's usual procedure with first offenders. The committee brought 5,289 cases before the magistrates, 25% of these were warned to give the parents a chance to comply with the bye-laws, but 48% were fined the full five shillings set as the maximum penalty for failure to send children to school.¹ Subsequent Boards were equally conscientious in investigating non-attendance, but never again was the maximum fine paid by so many offenders as Table XVII shows.

1. Manchester School Board, 2nd Report, 1876, p. 10.

Table XVII showing the number of prosecutions brought by the Manchester School Board rota committee. Taken from Manchester School Board Reports 1879, p. 12; 1882, p.10; 1885, p.10; 1888, p. 10; 1891, p.9; 1894, p.10.

Date & Board	Number of cases before rota committee	Number of cases before magistrates	% of these cases fined full 5/-d.
1877 -79 3rd Board	14,217	4,041	31%
1880 -82 4th Board	19,223	4,257	22%
1883 -85 5th Board	19,092	6,718	-
1886 -88 6th Board	19,937	8,054	19%
1889 -91 7th Board	19,306	8,824	10%
1892 -94 8th Board	20,708	4,835 ¹	13%

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The rota committee expressed satisfaction at this figure which showed a marked decrease in the number of serious cases (Manchester School Board, 8th Report, 1894, p.10).

The Boards were increasingly supported in their fight against parental indifference by government legislation. Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 was aimed directly at improving attendance. It declared that it was the duty of all parents to see that their children received efficient instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. No child was to be employed under ten years of age, nor between ten and fourteen unless that child had reached Standard IV or had made 250 attendances for each of five years. Special exemption was given to half-timers. The School Boards were to enforce these requirements. Mundella's Act of 1880 compelled the Boards to frame bye-laws enforcing attendance if they had not already done so and limited the half-time system by insisting that a child must have reached a certain standard, to be fixed by the Boards, before he could be absent from school. In 1893 the lowest age at which a child could gain exemption from school was fixed at eleven and in 1899 this was raised to twelve.

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 143 footnote. This was called the Dunces' pass.

The Manchester Board obeyed both the letter and the spirit of these requirements, and in some cases improved on them. In 1879 the Board fixed the standard below which a child could not leave school at Standard V, not Standard IV as laid down by Lord Sandon's Act; half-time exemption could be gained at Standard III.¹ It was found by 1891, however, that many children were reaching Standard V at the age of eleven or twelve and then leaving school when they were too young for most jobs, drifted onto the streets and "decoyed" their fellows from school. In 1891, to overcome this problem, the leaving Standard² was fixed at Standard VI.

In 1870 only 44% of the children on the school rolls attended regularly. By 1873, with easier prosecutions and the formation of the rota committee, the figures had increased to 60%. The strict enforcement of the bye-laws by the Second Board increased

1. Manchester School Board, 7th Report, 1891, p. 9.

2. Ibid.

this figure to 62%. By the 1880's the figure was over 80% and remained high despite the addition¹ of new districts throughout the period.

In December 1903 C.H. Wyatt outlined the development of the Manchester School Boards in a paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society in which he claimed that the Board's policy of enforcing attendance had been completely successful. He pointed out that if attendance had stayed at the same level as it was in 1870 there would have been an average attendance of only 39,850 in 1903 as opposed to about 80,000. In addition: "Habits of regularity and good training in the schools have played a great part in improving the condition of the people."²

The other Boards in the district worked hard at the problem of attendance. Like the Manchester Boards, they too, soon realised that compulsion was essential if anything like satisfactory attendance

1. See Table XVIII p.224.

2. C.H. Wyatt, op. cit., p. 82.

Table XVIII showing increase in average school attendance in Manchester 1870 to 1894. Taken from Manchester School Board 9th Report, 1897, p.29.

Date	Number on roll. (approx.)	Average attendance (approx.)	% Average attendance (approx.)	Comment
1870	50,000	22,000	44%	
1871				Bye-law making attendance compulsory Nov. 1871.
1872	50,000	26,000	52%	
1873	50,000	30,000	60%	1873 Amending Act making prosecutions easier.
1876	53,000	33,000	62%	1876 Lord Sandons Act.
1879	62,000	47,000	76%	
1882	62,000	52,000	84%	
1885	65,000	56,000	86%	New districts added to Manchester.
1888	73,000	55,000	75%	
1891	93,000	72,000	77%	
1894	97,000	78,000	80%	

figures were to be achieved and most of them had introduced the necessary bye-laws by the end of 1872. The problem in the outlying townships, however, never seems to have been as serious as it was in Manchester since the size of the problem, with the possible exception of Salford, was on a much smaller scale and could therefore be dealt with more easily.

In Salford, as early as 1872, 61.7% of the children on the rolls attended regularly and this figure had increased to 75.7% by 1887.¹ Oldham similarly claimed an attendance of 65% in 1871 which had increased to 87% by 1877 when the visiting Inspector could claim that almost every child of school age had at least a nominal connection with school.² There is reason to suspect however that these high figures in Oldham were the result of inaccurately kept registers and special packing of classes for the day of the

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1. Evidence of Herbert Birley before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales, 1886 - 88 (hereinafter called the Cross Report) Second Report, 1887, p. 896.
 2. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878, p. 758.

Inspector's visit. The Rev. W.J. Kennedy wrote in 1875 after repeatedly praising the level of attendance in previous years that there had been a fall in that year due to visits without previous notice and "more careful keeping of registers."¹ The failure of the Oldham Boards to publish Reports before 1877 makes it difficult to ascertain the truth of these allegations.

Rochdale, as has already been pointed out, enjoyed a high level of attendance and this continued. In 1874 there were only 58 prosecutions for non-attendance and by 1877 there were only 24.² The Bolton Board had the greatest difficulty in enforcing attendance and complained in 1872 of its inability to demand and get accurate returns from schools outside its jurisdiction and the problem of proving the age of children.³ This was one of the last Boards in the district to introduce compulsion in 1872 after which there was marked progress with 66% attendance by 1878⁴ and 82.6% by 1882.⁵

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1. Ibid, 1875, pp.316-7.
 2. Ibid, 1878, p. 757.
 3. Ibid, 1872, p. 56.
 4. Ibid, 1878, p. 534.
 5. Ibid, 1882, p. 294.

The returns which were eventually made by the Board's in 1871 in reply to the Department of Education's request for information regarding school accommodation showed that the voluntary system had made a tremendous effort in the years immediately preceding the Act. In 40% of the areas there were no deficiencies. In a large proportion of the areas where deficiencies did exist, they were rapidly being filled by voluntary effort. In 1872 over a thousand new voluntary schools were built and by 1876 the number of school places had doubled since 1870, two-thirds of this extra accommodation being provided by the voluntary schools.¹ Manchester was one of the areas where the voluntary system made a very considerable effort to make good the deficiencies.

The reply to the Department of Education concerning school requirements and provision in Manchester in September 1871 gave the population of the city as 351,361, and estimated that elementary education ought to be available for 1/6 of the population. The Board argued that it was not necessary to provide a place for every child of school age,

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 140.

since from the total number of children should be deducted the children of parents of a higher class than those whose interests were dealt with by the Act and a further deduction should be made for ¹ absenteeism. It would seem that the Board in these early days accepted a substantial amount of absenteeism as inevitable and felt that to provide places which would remain unfilled would be wasteful. The figure at which the Board eventually arrived as that requiring school accommodation was 58,557 which substantially agrees with Fearon's estimate of between 61,315 and 52,271. ² The number of places available in day schools of all kinds was 49,193, ³ with a further 578 places in industrial schools and charitable institutions giving a total of 49,771. Thus the ⁴ deficiency was 8,786. A further 4,180 places were,

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1. For a full account of the arguments behind the choice of 1/6 as the fraction for which places were required see, Manchester School Board, Report, 1871, pp.22 - 23.
 2. See p. 96.
 3. See Table XIX p.230.
 4. The Rev. Joseph Nunn in his evidence before the Cross Commission gave the deficiency as 8,601. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p. 796.

however, likely to be supplied in schools which were at various stages of completion ranging from "plans passed" to "walls nine feet high".¹ If these schools are included the deficiency was only 4,606. The Rev. W.J. Kennedy, the Inspector for a wide district including Salford, Oldham, Rochdale and Ashton, reported that this district was well supplied with schoolrooms and that no great increase in the number of places was² necessary.

A comparison of these figures made in 1871 with the findings of Fearon in 1869 shows the extent of the progress that the voluntary system had made in two years. Fearon revealed that accommodation was needed for between 12,297 and 20,841 children but if only efficient schools were considered the deficiency was between 17,488 and³ 26,032. Thus it would seem that since 1869 the

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1. Report to the Circular Letter relative to the school requirements in the City of Manchester 25th September, 1871, p. 4.
 2. Manchester Guardian, 23rd July, 1870.
 3. See p. 98.

Table XIX showing the number of school places in Manchester in 1871. Taken from the Manchester School Board's reply to the circular letter from the Education Department relative to school requirements and provision in the City of Manchester.

Estimated child population 1871 in need of school places i.e., 1/6 of population	=	58,557.
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1. Public elementary schools receiving annual grants	=	38,176.
2. Public elementary schools not receiving annual grants but will seek annual aid	=	3,314
3. Public elementary schools not receiving annual grants and not intending to seek aid	=	3,719
4. Private adventure schools of three types		
(i) held in public rooms controlled by committees	=	968
(ii) held in public rooms not controlled by committee	=	2,156
(iii) held in dwelling houses	=	860
		<hr/>
Total accommodation available 1871	=	49,193
		<hr/>
5. Accommodation "likely to be provided" (mainly Church of England)	=	<u>4,180</u>
Total available and in course of provision 1871	=	<u>53,373</u>

Deficiency taking into account only schools built	= 9,364
But some children catered for in industrial schools, half-time schools and philanthropic institutions	= 578
	<hr/>
Deficiency reduced to	8,786
If schools being built are considered deficiency	= 4,606

deficiency had been reduced from 12,297 places, to take Fearon's lowest estimated, to 8,786, or 4,606 places¹ if the schools nearing completion are counted. The Board drew attention to this remarkable increase, in its first Report which gave Fearon's figures for accommodation in inspected schools in 1869 as 35,783 and the Board's figures for the same schools as 38,176 in 1871, an increase of almost 2,400 places. Indeed it claimed that the actual increase was likely to be higher than this since Fearon's estimates tended to be generous.

1. Manchester School Board Report 1871, p. 21.

The voluntary system in Manchester had at last been prodded into action by Fearon's revelations and the Act of 1870 and was rapidly filling the gaps. So effective was it proving that the first Board made little attempt to build schools of its own and concentrated its efforts and money on sending children to the voluntary schools, by paying their fees under Clause 25 of the Act, though at first the Board was not sure if it could do this without first passing a bye-law to that effect. In December, 1870, the Board asked the Department of Education if it could pay fees without further legislation. This was the first query of its kind received by the Department which was understandably cautious in its reply. On the 11th December the Department replied asking the Board how it proposed to deal with the matter before taking any steps. The Board, however, decided that it could not delay further. The funds of the Education Aid Society were running low, it was finally disbanded in March 1871, and its main function of fee-paying was taken over by the Board. The Board, therefore, began paying fees at once without waiting for a definite reply from the Department. The Department finally replied in April, 1871, having decided that no bye-law was necessary,

but by that time the Board had been paying fees for
over twelve months.¹ The first Manchester School
Board paid more in fees than all the other Boards of
that period in England and Wales.²

Since the Board was paying fees it did not feel
that there was any urgency about providing schools. Only
with reluctance did the Board accept the transfer of
existing schools and the first schools built by the Board
were not opened until 1876. This reluctance on the
part of the Board to take the provision of education away
from the voluntary schools is accounted for by the fact
that the early Boards were denominational in character.³
The largest group within the first Board was the Anglican
party headed by Herbert Birley, with five members; the
Roman Catholics had two members and usually gave their
support when matters touching the religious character of
education were under discussion. Birley dominated the

1. Dolton, op. cit., pp.50 - 62.

2. Ibid., p. 28.

3. Ibid., pp. 31 et seq.

Manchester and Salford Boards throughout most of the period. He was chairman of both these Boards from 1870 to 1885 and 1888 to 1890. Between 1885 and 1888 he was chairman of the Salford Board only, but the chairman of the Manchester Board was an even more determined supporter of the voluntary system, the Rev. Joseph Nunn, who became a member of the second Board in 1873.

At the Board's second meeting in January, 1871, the Board began negotiations for the lease of premises in Cross Street at a cost of £150 p.a. and received offers of the transfer of six schools.¹ The Board, however, was in no hurry to accept these offers of schools which were in most cases troublesome and inferior and proving a burden to the organisations running them. Only one of these schools was accepted, the Hulme Operatives' School,² a year later. Further transfers of schools to the Board took place slowly. The Board was even more

1. Dolton, op. cit., p. 75 et seq.

2. Ibid

reluctant to begin building its own schools and when the decision was finally made many mistakes were made and progress was slow. It was not easy to find unoccupied sites in the right place at the right price. Those already conducting schools near the proposed sites placed as many obstacles as possible before a sympathetic Board, many members of which were worried about the expense, some claiming that the Board's figures were unreliable and that children said not to be at school were only "paper children" existing only in the Board's Reports. The sites which the Board finally chose for its first two schools at Every Street, Ancoats, and Chester Street were too small and badly placed. The school at Every Street which was originally planned to cost £4,500 was eventually opened after months of delay at a cost of £18,000 in January, 1876.

The growth of the Board's schools was, therefore, a slow process. By 1873 the first Board possessed only one school which had been transferred to it and had begun the construction of three more providing accommodation

1. Dr. John Watts, The Work of the First Manchester School Board, read to the Manchester Statistical Society on 12th November, 1873, p. 4.

2. Ibid

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for 2,300 children. By 1876 the second Board had completed these three schools and a further four with accommodation for 3,220 were planned. These four and one other were completed by 1879, giving a total of eight schools built with a total accommodation of 6,520. Twenty schools had been transferred to the Board by this time, however, giving a total of 28 schools with accommodation for just over 15,000 children. After 1879 progress was steady as the following figures show, 2 but there was still no great enthusiasm on the part of the Boards to provide and run schools of their own.

The result of the Board's policy of paying fees to existing voluntary schools rather than building and running its own schools meant that the burden of providing places remained with the voluntary system. From small beginnings the Board's share of schools increased as the pressure from an ever-increasing population, the child population in Manchester doubling between 1871 and 1894, and the need to build new schools near the new centres of population, imposed a strain which the voluntary

1. For these and subsequent figures, see Manchester School Board 4th Report, 1882, p. 4.

2. See Table XX, p.237.

Table XX Number of Board Schools and amount of accommodation available.

Taken from Manchester School Board, Reports 1882, p.4; 1885, p.4;

1888, p.8; 1891, p.8; 1894, p.9.

Date	No. of Board Schools built and purchased	No. of schools transferred to Board	Total Board Schools	Total accommodation in Board Schools	Approx. % of total accommodation	Total accommodation in Voluntary Schools	Approx. % of total accommodation
By 1879	8	20	28	15,479	25	46,521	75
1879-1882	6	8	42	24,676	40	37,324	60
1882-1885	4	9	55	31,553	48	33,536	52
1885-1888	3	1	59	34,014	47	38,753	53
1888-1891*	5	NIL. 2 relinquished	62	36,852	40	54,821	60
1891-1894	4	6	72	43,294	44	53,964	56
TOTAL	30	42	72				

* The inclusion of outlying districts into the Manchester School Board area accounts for the increase in voluntary school places.

agencies could not bear. At no time during this period, however, did the Boards provide more than 50%¹ of the places. By 1902 the proportion had just reached 50%.

There was, however, criticism of even this expansion, specially from the Anglican Church. It was held that the Board schools were being increased at an unnecessary rate, and were underselling the voluntary schools by using the rates to provide a higher quality of education at a lower cost.² The Manchester Board in its Second Report refuted the accusation that it was building unnecessary schools by pointing out that all its schools were full³ and therefore necessary. The Rev. Joseph Munn, however, in his evidence before the Cross Commission in 1887 returned to this theme and further lashed the Board for luring the children of non-ratepayers from outside the city to attend its schools.⁴ There seems to have been

1. Wyatt, op. cit., p. 83.

2. See pp. 334 - 336.

3. Manchester School Board, 2nd Report, 1876, p. 5.

4. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, pp. 775 - 7.

some truth in this charge. In January 1886, out of 32,598 children on the register of the Board schools, 5,111¹ were children of non-ratepayers.

The Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Cross was appointed in 1886 in order to inquire into the progress that had been made in the fifteen years since the passage of the Education Act. The Commission reported in 1888 and expressed its general satisfaction concerning the supply of school places. It accepted the existing rule that in areas containing the ordinary proportion of upper classes after making due allowance for absence on account of sickness, weather, distance from school and other reasonable excuses for irregular attendance, provision should be made for one-sixth of the population. Some predominantly working-class areas, such as Salford, ought to provide schools for one-fifth of the population. The Report² concluded that these requirements were being met.

This was certainly the case in Manchester where by 1879 there were more children on the registers of the

1. Manchester School Board 56th Report, 1888, p. 8.

2. Cross Commission, Final Report, 1888, p. 208.

schools than the estimated child population. In 1879, eight years after the implementation of the Act, there was an estimated need of places for 60,000 children and, in fact, places for at least 62,000.¹ The Board, however, reported that many of these places were not evenly distributed.² In 1885 new districts were added to the city and the child population increased to 80,000 which made the school accommodation deficient, numbering only some 72,000 places in 1888, though the Board claimed that accommodation could be extended to 79,000 places.³ This deficit had been made up by 1891 despite another boundary enlargement in 1890 when there were 93,000 places for an estimated child population of 84,000 and by 1894, 97,000 places for 88,000 children.⁵

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1. Manchester School Board, 3rd Report, 1879, p.4.
 2. Ibid, 6th Report, 1888, p.15.
 3. Ibid, p.32
 4. Ibid, 7th Report, 1891, p.17, Table XI.
 5. Ibid, 9th Report, 1897, p.29.

The situation in Manchester itself, with the voluntary agencies largely making good the initial deficiencies and the Boards stepping in at a later date, was repeated, with exceptions, throughout the district. In Salford, the first Board came in for much criticism on the grounds that it was dragging its heels, would not build schools, would not take over denominational schools which were offered to it and paid fees unnecessarily. The Inspector for Salford, E.H. Brodie, leapt to its defence in his Report for 1872 and pointed out that since accommodation was in excess of requirements there was no need for the Board to build schools and that only one school had been offered to the Board which had been turned down for good reasons. His only note of criticism regarding accommodation in Salford was that the schools were badly distributed.¹ This certainly indicates remarkable progress since 1869 in an area which was predominantly working-class. As late as 1878 the Board had not begun building, yet school accommodation had increased by 20 to 30,000 as a result

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1872, pp.54 - 5.

of the activities of the voluntary agencies and private
1
individuals.

After 1879, however, the Board did begin to involve itself more directly in the provision of schools. The reluctance of the early Boards was partly due, as it was in Manchester, to their denominational character, and partly to the fact that the existing agencies were coping with the problem. Following the election of 1879 the character of the Boards changed and the new Boards were forced to take direct action because of the poor
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distribution of the schools available and the massive increase in the population. From a population of less than 130,000 in 1872, the population leapt by 50,000
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to 176,000 in ten years and by 1889 it had increased by a further 36,000 to over 212,000.
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This was a problem with which the voluntary agencies could not cope and by 1882 the Board had taken over ten schools and built two

1. Ibid, 1878, p. 534.

2. Ibid, 1878, p. 534.

3. Ibid, 1882, p. 293.

4. Ibid, 1889, p. 296.

new ones with accommodation for 1,100. The total accommodation in Board schools was for 5,209, still only 14%¹ of the total accommodation. This did not solve the problem of the increasing pressure on school accommodation, however, and the Inspectors' Reports criticised the Boards for failing to look ahead and building only to cater for the immediate demand. It was pointed out that no sooner were new schools built than they were too small. The new school in Marlborough Road, for example, had to have a new boys' department added as soon as it was opened, whilst the Trafford Road School, opened in April, 1881, was already full. It was also pointed out that a proportion of one sixth was too low for Salford and that the Board should lift its sights to a more realistic figure of schools for one fifth of the population.² By 1887 the efforts of the Salford Boards had increased their share of schools to 25% of the total supply with accommodation for 33% of

1. Ibid, 1882, p. 293.

2. Ibid, 1882, p. 293.

the children attending school.¹ The Boards' task was, however, made more difficult by the fact that permanent building was hampered by the dislocation caused by railway construction and the building of the Manchester Ship Canal. The Boards had to rely largely on temporary buildings.²

In Bolton, also, the voluntary agencies had done much to reduce the deficiencies. Out of a total requirement of just over 21,000 places there was a deficiency of only 1,500. By 1872 the Bolton Board had taken over one school and had begun to build two more which would eliminate the deficiency. Here, also,³ however, the schools were badly distributed. By 1878 the accommodation was ample for the needs of the town.⁴ The figures for some of the outlying districts reveal the extent of the contribution of the voluntary

1. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p. 894.

2. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1889, p.296.

3. Ibid, 1872, p. 56.

4. Ibid, 1878, p. 534.

agencies in making good the deficiencies. In the West Haughton and Lostock area the population in 1871 was 7,279, one sixth of this amounting to just over 1,200, yet there was accommodation for only 691 children. By 1875 the population had increased to 8,944 and the accommodation available had increased, entirely as the result of voluntary effort to 2,037 places, well over the necessary provision for one sixth of the population. Similarly in Farnworth voluntary effort had not only made good the deficiencies, but had overcome the problem of an increase in the population from 13,550 in 1871 to 20,898 by 1877.¹

As in Salford, so in Bolton the increased activity of the School Boards was the result of a change in the character and policy of the Boards after 1879, the pressure of the population and the need to site schools correctly. By 1882 this Board had built a further two schools, taken over ten and set up five schools in temporary premises, providing accommodation for a further 5,814 children,² in the new centres of population.

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, 1882, p. 294.

It is significant, bearing in mind the comments that have been made concerning the Newcastle Commission's work in Lancashire,¹ that Rochdale was again not typical of the general pattern in the rest of the district at this time. By 1878 there was accommodation for 11,717 children with well over 12,000 attending, only a small proportion of these places being provided by the Boards. Yet the official requirement of the area with a population of some 80,000 was only 7,570 since large deductions had been made on "various grounds".² A calculation based on one sixth of the population gives a figure in excess of 13,000 places required.

Oldham also was something of an exception with active Boards during the early years. Between 1871 and 1873 accommodation in Oldham had increased by 5,092 places and at least half of these were provided in five schools established by the Board, two new ones and three in hired rooms.³ This gave a total accommodation in 1873 of 16,923 whilst accommodation, calculated at one fifth of the

1. See pp. 77 - 81

2. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878, p. 757.

3. Ibid, 1873, p. 113.

population, a proportion deemed necessary for a working-
class area like Oldham, was only required for 15,725.¹
The school age population was 18,695, however.² The
Oldham Boards continued to be active and many new schools
were opened during the next two years, some by the Boards
and some by "local private enterprise and liberality".³
It was this which prompted the Rev. W.J. Kennedy to
make the following, not quite accurate, statement in
1875: "The action of the three School Boards in my
district, viz. in Manchester, Oldham and the Isle of
Man, has promoted the increase of school accommodation
more rapidly and extensively than it would have been
prompted without their action."⁴ Whilst in Oldham
the Boards' contribution was a direct one, in Manchester
and elsewhere in the district the Boards' contribution
was more indirect, certainly during the early years,

1. Ibid, 1873, p. 113.

2. Ibid

3. Ibid, 1875, p.313.

4. Ibid, p.315.

prompting the voluntary agencies into action in order to retain as much as possible the religious basis of education.

The Oldham Boards continued to be active. By 1877 two more schools had been opened.¹ The voluntary agencies continued to match the Boards' efforts. By 1877 the Church of England school at Glodwick had been enlarged, the British school at Hathershaw moved to new larger premises and the Congregational school at Tommyfield was improved.² It was, however, proving more difficult to keep pace with the population which had increased from 82,619 in 1871 to 107,366 by 1877.³ The total accommodation available in fact decreased, there being places for only 14,335 children by 1877. This decline in the accommodation was due to the fall in the number of places provided by the private schools from 2,254 in 1871 to only 532 by 1876.⁴ due, no doubt, to their inability to compete with the new

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1. Ibid, 1878, p.758.
 2. Ibid, 1878, p. 758.
 3. Ibid
 4. Ibid

and better schools now being provided. The extra places required were largely met by the Boards. In 1887 it was reported that accommodation was keeping pace with the increase in the population, largely owing to the Boards which had opened schools at the rate of one a year and were continuing to secure valuable sites for the future.¹

The Cross Commission was divided in its opinion concerning the joint endeavours of the voluntary system and the Board schools working side by side. The majority report approved this arrangement which certainly seems to have worked in the Manchester district. The Report concluded: "That we see no reason why voluntary effort should not be entitled to work *pari passu* with a school board in providing accommodation to meet any increase of population subsequent to the determination of the necessary school supply arrived at by the Department after the first inquiry of 1871."² It urged also that inquiries into the state of education should be held every five years and that voluntary effort should then be recognised as entitled to

1. Ibid, 1887, p. 276.

2. Cross Commission, Final Report, 1888, p.208.

meet any deficiencies not filled by the Boards.¹ On
the problem of attendance the Commission declared its
satisfaction at the improvement since 1871.² It paid
particular tribute to the part played by the day
Industrial schools in large cities.

1. Ibid, p.208.

2. Ibid, p.212.

B. Post-Elementary education.

The Manchester School Boards' most important contribution towards the increase of educational opportunity, was the provision of education which went beyond the 3 R's of the elementary schools. Once the gaps had been filled there arose an increasing demand for education which would offer greater opportunities so far as employment was concerned, enrich leisure time or, in some cases, lead to university education. The Manchester Board was, along with those of Sheffield and Birmingham, in the forefront of the movement to meet this demand, but they were hampered in their activities by the fact that the 1870 Education Act gave them power only to provide schools in which elementary education was the principal part of the education given. This difficulty was overcome by interpreting the regulations to mean that education of a more advanced nature could be given provided that the bulk of the education was elementary. Assistance for this kind of education also came from the grants provided by the Science and Art Department which

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1. The Great Exhibition of 1851 revealed that British technical achievement was being challenged by Continental competitors and led to an increase in scientific and technical education. In 1852 the Normal School of Design became the Department of Practical Art in the Board of Trade, housed in South Kensington. A science division was added in 1853 and the Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade was transferred to the newly-formed Education Department in 1856.

could be earned by individual pupils on the strength of a pass in a written examination in one of a large selection of subjects and, after 1872, further grants could be earned for organised three-year courses in science.

The Manchester Boards made use of a variety of institutions and agencies to provide this greater opportunity, the most important being the higher grade schools. These schools were certainly so far as their higher classes were concerned, really secondary schools, the equivalent of the third-grade secondary schools recommended by the Taunton Commission in 1864.¹ A higher grade school was established in 1876, and by 1887 the Board had four such schools. These were schools which took more able children, often of a higher social class than those usually found in the public elementary schools, beyond Standard Six. In 1882 a Seventh Standard was added and later ex-Standard

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895, (hereinafter called the Bryce Report), Vol. 1, p.10.

classes were formed. Children attended these schools to 16 or 17 years of age and a few children passed from these schools to London University matriculation and degree courses. - Evening continuation schools were not new; they had been an essential part of the education of the area throughout the period and were designed to provide elementary education. In 1887, however, these schools began to provide instruction of a secondary nature. A further rapidly-expanding source of secondary education was the Science and Art Department Special classes which eventually developed into Science and Art Evening Schools and Commercial Evening Schools. In addition to providing these schools, the Board set up an Exhibition Fund to provide scholarships to enable promising pupils to attend the endowed secondary schools in the area.

In 1876 Christ Church School, Greenhays, was transferred to the Board. This school was on the edge of a largely middle-class area and could therefore draw its pupils from families which could afford to pay the higher fees necessary to maintain a higher grade school. The fees were fixed at eight pence a

week for children over ten in the higher standards.¹
The school was an immediate success providing as it did cheap efficient education, and the pressure on the available accommodation was so great that the school moved in 1880 to newly built premises in Ducie Avenue with accommodation for a thousand children.² In 1887 [?] a similar school was opened, the Broughton Elementary School, Bury New Road, charging fees of only six pence.³ These premises also proved to be unsatisfactory and the school was moved and became the Strangeways Upper Board School in October 1879.⁴ Thus by 1880 there were two very active higher grade schools in the city and by 1882 attendance at the Ducie Avenue School had so increased that the Board temporarily re-opened the Christ Church School.⁵

1. Manchester School Board, 2nd Report, 1876, p.6.

2. Ibid, 3rd Report, 1879, p.7.

3. Ibid

4. Ibid

5. Ibid, 4th Report, 1882, p. 4.

In 1874 these two permanent and one temporary higher grade schools were joined by a further large school, accommodating over 1,000 children, the Central School,¹ Deansgate. Three years later the Ducie Avenue and Christ Church Schools were re-organised with the Infant Department and the first two Standards at Christ Church and the higher standards centralised at Ducie Avenue, which became an Organised Science School receiving grants from the Science and Art Department.² The Ducie Avenue school was further extended in 1890 following the gift of land adjoining the school, under the will of Sir Joseph Whitworth.³ By 1887 there were four higher grade schools, Ducie Avenue, the Central School, St. Matthew's School, Hyde Road, and St. Luke's School, Cheetham Hill accommodating almost 3,000 pupils.⁴ The Strangeways School was no longer classed as a higher grade school. By 1894 there were five higher grade schools,

1. Ibid, 5th Report, 1885, p.10.

2. Ibid, 6th Report, 1888, p.5.

3. Ibid, 7th Report, 1891, p.29.

4. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p.775.

all of them Organised Science Schools, Ducie Avenue, the Central School, Birley Street School and two other schools in Ardwick and Cheetham, with room for well over 3,000 pupils. In the autumn of 1894, the Deansgate Central School was purchased by the Great Northern Railway Company for £50,000 to make way for a new goods station. A new site was chosen in Whitworth Street at a cost of £24,346 and a tender for building, to be begun in August 1896, of £22,719 was accepted.

Salford, by 1887 had only one higher grade school out of 18 Board schools, with a second one planned. By 1894 there were two schools, one a Board school; the other, Christ Church Upper School, Hulme Street, was a voluntary school. This school deliberately set itself out to be "a feeder" for Manchester Grammar School and, out of 96 scholarships won by Salford children, 37 came from this one school.

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1. Manchester School Board, 8th Report, 1894, p.62.
 2. Ibid, 9th Report, 1897, p.65.
 3. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p.899.
 4. Bryce Report, Vol. VI, p.132.

These developments did not take place without opposition. Nunn in his evidence before the Cross Commission gave voice to opinions that were held by many. It was thought that the higher grade schools, like the ordinary Board schools were providing places for a great many children whose parents did not pay rates in the city, that they were higher grade only in the sense that they appealed to a higher social class and that they used the rates to enable them to provide efficient education at a low cost, thus "under selling" the voluntary schools, and the endowed secondary schools. Nunn developed these arguments whilst explaining the organisation of the schools in Manchester. He pointed out that it was the practice of some schools, apart from the higher grade schools to collect the upper Standards from three or four neighbouring schools into one school. The Commissioners pointed out that these should be regarded as higher standard schools rather than higher grade schools. Nunn retorted that these were, in fact, true higher grade schools, based on higher standards, not higher grades of society. He also

1. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p.782.

criticised the higher grade schools for drawing children away from other schools, mentioning the Commercial School, under the supervision of the Dean and Canons of the Cathedral, which had lost many pupils to the Board's Central School and was in danger of being closed. Manchester Grammar School was suffering in the same way with many free places not being filled since the children stayed on at the higher grade schools. At these schools pupils could get Science and Art Department Scholarships of £10 per annum which would not only pay the school fees, but also contribute, unlike a free place at the Grammar School, towards their maintenance.

These criticisms were brought up by the Commissioners when Birley was giving his evidence. He declared bluntly that he approved of grading schools by their social standing through the charging of higher fees. Indeed, he went further declaring that he would limit schools in poor areas to the elementary or obligatory subjects. As with the ordinary Board Schools,

1. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, pp.775-6.

2. Ibid, p.907.

3. See p. 239.

so with the higher grade Board schools, there was some truth in the claim that children living outside Manchester were being helped to enjoy this superior educational opportunity by Manchester ratepayers. Out of 851 boys admitted to the Central School in 1886, 372 lived in the city, 129 lived in Salford, 124 lived outside the city but their fathers paid rates in Manchester, 98 had fathers working in the city whilst 128 had no connection whatsoever with either Manchester or Salford.¹ The claim that the higher grade schools took promising pupils away from the voluntary and endowed schools was also denied by Birley. In three years only 18 pupils had been drawn from the Commercial School to the Central School and Birley pointed out that there were more candidates than scholarships at Manchester Grammar School scholarship examinations.² The Commission suggested that a secondary type school could not be established by voluntary effort with any hope of success, since the Central School already took boys up to matriculation

1. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p.904.

2. Ibid

for London University. Birley denied this and pointed out that very few pupils proceeded as far as matriculation and that it was an exaggeration to claim that this happened regularly.¹ That there was some truth in such claims can, however, be seen by the complaints put forward by the endowed secondary schools themselves that attendance was declining.²

Such opposition did not prevent the development of these schools. There was obviously a real demand for them, following the expansion of elementary education, which had not been met by the existing secondary schools and it is to the credit of the Manchester Board that it took active steps to fill this particular gap in educational opportunity in the district. These schools provided efficient education of a higher standard at a price which, though it might exclude the poorest classes, appealed to the upper working and middle classes. If these schools were attended by pupils from outside Manchester, this must

1. Ibid

2. See pp. 271 - 272.

be viewed as an attempt to throw the opportunity open to children who lived in areas which did not enjoy such a wide range of schools.

For those pupils who did not have the opportunity to proceed to the higher grade schools, there were the evening continuation schools. These, at the beginning of this period, were elementary schools, distinguishable from the ordinary day elementary schools only by the time at which they met, teaching the 3 R's to pupils who had never had the opportunity of attending day school or whose attendance had been so infrequent that it had had little effect. They had received grants in 1851 which were increased in 1855. After 1862 these grants were not paid on pupils under twelve and after 1871, when the gaps were beginning to be filled by the day elementary schools, the age below which a grant could not be earned, was raised to 18 and 21 in 1876.¹ Thus by 1871 the evening continuation schools were beginning to assume a new role catering for the needs of young men and women, but they remained purely elementary in character

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 156.

since the grants were paid only for the 3 R's at the rate of 2/6d. a pass as opposed to 3/-d. in the day schools.

These schools were popular and did valuable work, but as literacy increased with the expansion of elementary day-time education, their appeal began to fail, attendance dropped and steps had to be taken to change the emphasis in these schools and make them more secondary in character. In 1882 other subjects were admitted as grant-earning subjects but examinations still had to be taken in the 3 R's.¹ The Cross Commission urged that, whilst revision classes were necessary, the curriculum should be broadened to make the evening continuation schools "schools for maintaining and continuing the education already received in the day schools".² Such changes were made and after 1890 the grant was no longer dependent on the provision of elementary education; pupils who had passed Standard 5 could gain exemption from examination in the 3 R's and in 1893 the Evening Continuation Schools Code completely

1. Ibid

2. Cross Commission, Final Report, 1888, p.164.

changed the old conception as grants became payable based¹
on the work of the school as a whole.

As with the day elementary schools, so with the evening elementary schools. The Manchester Board was reluctant to get itself involved in the running of these schools and from 1876 made arrangements with the voluntary schools by which they helped with the fees of pupils attending evening schools attached to the voluntary schools.² The number of evening schools run by the Board steadily increased,³ but as late as 1900 56%⁴ of these schools were run by the voluntary schools.

Though the number of evening schools increased, attendance declined as the demand for what was purely elementary education was met by the day schools. From a peak average attendance of 2,158 in 1878, attendance⁵ declined steadily until in 1886 it was only, 1,011. The

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p. 160.

2. Dolton, op. cit., p. 134.

3. See Table XXII p. 267.

4. Dolton, op. cit., p. 134.

5. See Table XXII p. 267.

changing nature of the demand for evening school education can be seen in the following results of the examinations taken in these schools. There was a steady fall in the number of candidates taking the lower Standards and a marked increase in the number of candidates demanding education of a higher standard. By 1882 there was no demand for Standards 1 and 2 and the emphasis had changed to Standard 6 and the new Standard 7.

In order to adjust this trend the Board took two steps in 1887. They cut down the number of evening schools and concentrated in providing a few, ten divided into sixteen departments, with "Principal teachers of known excellence," and they introduced two new subjects into the curriculum, drawing and cookery, as they were now able to do since 1882, in order to provide education which would appeal to young men and women who now needed a wider curriculum.

The effect of this re-organisation was startling. In the next year the average attendance was almost 4,000, almost four times what it had been in 1886, the year before

1. Manchester School Board, 6th Report, 1888, p.23.

Table XXI showing the percentage passes in various standards in Manchester School Board evening continuation schools, 1875 to 1885. Taken from Manchester School Board, 4th Report, 1882, p.7, 5th Report, 1885, p.6.

Year	Standards						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1875 - 76	28	20	26	11	11	4	-
1876 - 77	28	21	26	14	7	4	-
1877 - 78	24	20	21	18	12	5	-
1878 - 79	16	15	26	18	15	10	6
1879 - 80	12	11	23	21	18	15	-
1880 - 81	6	10	15	25	23	21	-
1881 - 82	4	6	15	19	27	28	1
1882 - 83	-	-	16	16	26	30	12
1883 - 84	-	-	12	16	25	31	16
1884 - 85	-	-	11	16	23	36	14

re-organisation. In 1888, the number of schools was doubled, drawing and cookery were extended and two new subjects, shorthand and dressmaking, were introduced. The Board felt that shorthand would be of value to young men in offices and warehouses and, from the increase in attendance which followed these developments, this certainly seems to have been the case. By 1891 the subjects offered in the Manchester Board's evening schools, included geography, English history, and elementary science. The Code of 1890 made it possible for pupils who had passed Standard 5 to be presented for examination in the specific subjects and higher grade evening schools had been opened.

Until 1876 the Board had paid the fees of its pupil-teachers who wished to attend Science and Art Department classes. In that year the Board started its own classes and charged fees which would attract young working men.

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1. Ibid, p. 25.
 2. Ibid, 7th Report, 1891, p.60.
 3. Ibid, 7th Report, 1891, p.60.
 4. Ibid, 2nd Report, 1876, p.9.

Table XXII showing attendance at Manchester School Board evening continuation schools for the first four weeks of each session 1873 to 1894. Taken from Manchester School Board, 2nd Report, 1876, p.9; 6th Report, 1888, p.60, Table IV; 7th Report, 1891, p. 60/61; 8th Report, 1894, p.60.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of schools.</u>	<u>Number of Departments.</u>	<u>Average Attendance.</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1873	2	2	54	
1874	2	2	81	
1875	7	13	740	
1876	16	28	1568	
1877	19	27	1947	
1878	17	31	2158	Peak attendance before reorganisati
1879	19	32	2096	
1880	18	31	1932	
1881	19	32	1918	
1882	?	37	1967	
1883	?	33	1642	

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of schools.</u>	<u>Number of Departments.</u>	<u>Average Attendance.</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1884	?	30	1148	
1885	?	25	1134	
1886	14	22	1011	Average attendance for whole year 650
1887	10	16	1599	reorganisation
1888	20	32	3834	
1889	?	68	5682	
1890	?	85	5991	
1894	?	81	10068	

These were followed in 1879 with Special Classes which taught such diverse subjects as Greek, Latin, Shorthand and Singing. Fees were charged for these classes which made them self-supporting.¹ By 1891 these classes had developed into seven Science and Art Evening Schools and

1. Ibid, 3rd Report, 1879, p.10.

five Commercial Evening Schools, where students could attend for general subjects instead of the individual subjects of the Special Classes and receive advice¹ from the head teacher.

To round off this system of publicly-provided post-elementary education, the Manchester Board established the Manchester School Board Exhibition Fund in 1875. In that year 15 Exhibitions valued at £25 each were given. The aim was to enable deserving scholars and intending pupil-teachers to continue their education² at the endowed grammar schools in the neighbourhood.

The endowed grammar schools, which by 1870 were beginning to come to grips with the problems of providing a sound education which would appeal to the middle-class, were faced with new problems towards the end of the century. Again the history of Manchester Grammar School is illustrative of the problems and developments which were taking place at

1. Ibid, 7th Report, 1891, pp.68-69.

2. Ibid, 2nd Report, 1876, p.10.

this time.

After the re-organisation which took place in the 1860's the school's financial position improved, the modern side was developed and there were ambitious plans to increase the number of boys to 1,000. This was a reasonable aim for a major school catering for a population in Manchester and Salford of some half a million with 800,000 more within an hour's rail journey,¹ but a variety of factors prevented such expansion. Difficulties were encountered in building up the modern side of the school. Early leaving kept the numbers low whilst the lack of adequate preparation of the pupils in the elementary schools made it difficult to raise the standard as Walker had intended. In addition there was increasing competition in the district for the better quality products of the elementary schools, from the higher grade schools which, as has been seen, provided a

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1. F.E. Kitchener, the Bryce Commissions Assistant Commissioners covering the Manchester area pointed out the wide area from which the school drew its pupils and said that this was proof of the high quality of the school.
24.2% lived over 2 miles away, 3.8% lived over 20 miles away.
12.1% lived over 6-8 miles away,
6.3% lived over 10-12 miles away,
(Bryce Report, Vol. VI, p.119).

sound and cheap education as well as the chance of
substantial scholarships.¹ The scholarships provided
by the Board did not replace the pupils lost to the
higher grade schools.

Thus, whilst by 1883 the number of pupils at
the school had reached 949, they had fallen to 800
by 1894. The High Master complained of the declining
numbers and quality of the boys competing for free
places and was quite certain that the reason for this
decline was the popular appeal of the higher grade schools.
He mentioned in particular the Ducie Avenue and Central
Schools as competing with Manchester Grammar School.² The
Bryce Report came to a similar conclusion pointing out that
the Liverpool district, with a much smaller population
than the Manchester district, had more than 50% more boys
at the endowed grammar schools than had Manchester. The
missing boys, the Report claimed, were at the higher
grade schools.³ Failure to attend Manchester Grammar School

1. See p. 258.

2. Bryce Report, Vol. VI, p.116.

3. Ibid, p. 134.

also was often the result of ignorance since many families from outside Manchester were unaware of the scholarships offered by the school.¹

Stockport Grammar School was similarly badly hit by the competition of the higher grade schools. After re-organisation, in 1860, similar to that carried out by Manchester Grammar School, fee payers were introduced and the total number of pupils increased to 200. By 1887, however, the number had been drastically reduced to 17 and the school was forced to sell large sections of the playing fields as a site for a new technical school in order to raise money. Part of this collapse was due to the increase of the fees from £4. 5. Od. to £9. 0. Od. per annum in 1878 which made the cheap higher grade schools even more attractive, especially since there was easy and cheap transport into Manchester. A new Headmaster appointed in 1888 managed to increase the number of pupils to 105, but by the end² of the period the school was only just holding its own.

1. See Appendix to Chapter 5, p. 276.

2. Benjamin Varley, The History of Stockport Grammar School, Manchester University Press, 1957, p.133.

To increase the competition further the number of grammar schools in the district increased in the 1880's with the extension of the William Hulme trust. In 1691 William Hulme of Kearsley established a trust to educate "four poor clerks" at Brasenose College, Oxford. The income from the trust far exceeded the cost of these scholars and the surplus was used to found schools in the district. Other schools were established in Bury and Oldham.¹ The provision of secondary education for girls benefited particularly from this trust. In 1884 the Girls' High School in Dover Street received endowments and Girls' High Schools were established in north Manchester and Pendleton.² Following the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, technical schools were opened in Manchester in 1892 and Salford in 1895.³

Thus by 1894 Manchester provided a well organised system of education which offered to the intelligent and determined a sound education which was not simply elementary in character. From the elementary day school a child





















1. Bryce Report, Vol. VI, pp.115-116.

2. Recent University of Manchester, Department of Education.

3. Ibid

could pass via the higher grade schools and scholarships to one of the new endowed secondary schools that existed, or, via evening continuation schools to a commercial or technical education. Whilst this was not an adequate substitute for a properly organised system of secondary education following primary education, and was to some extent based on social class, it does show a tremendous improvement on the situation which existed in 1833.

Diagram showing the educational opportunity available in Manchester in 1894. Taken from Manchester School Board, 8th Report, 1894, p. 82.

Science and Art Evening Schools	Board Commercial Evening Schools	Board Evening Institutes for women and girls	21+ to
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 150px; height: 100px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <p data-bbox="140 742 337 806">Higher grade schools.</p> </div> </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 400px; height: 100px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <p data-bbox="619 871 1088 906">Evening continuation schools.</p> </div> </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> </div>			16
			16
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> </div>			15 to 14
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> </div>			13
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> </div>			to
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> </div>			5

Public Elementary Day Schools, Board and Voluntary.
Some private schools.

Appendix to Chapter 5.

Sir Ernest Barker wrote the following explanation of how he came to attend Manchester Grammar School (Age and Youth, Oxford University Press, 1953, p.253).

"I now come to the days, at the end of my time in the village school, when an educational ladder appeared for me suddenly out of the blue. Our village lay ten miles to the east of Manchester. An old and honourable tradition of the Grammar School in Manchester was the provision of scholarships for promising boys from elementary schools in the neighbourhood. I fancy that, at the time of which I am writing (1886), it was only the elementary schools in Manchester itself which knew, or took advantage, of this provision. None of the boys of my village school had ever, so far as I knew, been candidates. I doubt if even the Headmaster knew of the opportunities open to his boys. But it so happened that at this time a Manchester business man _____ came to live in a house above the farm. He had a son of my age whom he sent to the village school. He knew about the scholarships at the Grammar School open to boys from elementary schools, and he asked the Headmaster to prepare his boy for the examination on which they were given. The Headmaster thinking, I suppose, that two would work better together and would serve to stimulate one another - put me to work with this boys. That was how my feet were directed to the first rung of the ladder."

Chapter 6. Educational Achievement 1870 - 1894.

"Considering the length of time during which elementary schools have now been at work and under inspection and considering how such schools are now co-extensive with the wants of the population, or nearly so, and how the inefficient and worthless schools among them have nearly disappeared, a question naturally suggests itself concerning the results as shown in the persons who have passed through these schools, and are now the men and women, the husbands and wives and parents and, generally speaking, the manual labourers in the country." (Rev. W.J. Kennedy, H.M.1 for the North West District of England,) Report of the Committee of Council on Education 1875, p.314).

Educational opportunity undoubtedly increased during this period and efforts were made by the Education Department to improve the quality of the education provided in the new schools. This was done by modifying the conditions under which financial aid was granted to schools, conditions set out in the Department's Codes and Instructions to Inspectors, increasing the number, and especially the quality of teachers, relaxing the more constricting sections of the Revised Code and giving greater freedom to schools, introducing a more liberal curriculum and improving buildings. The aim generally was "to encourage a more generous view of what the elementary school ought to accomplish."¹

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p.145.

The 1870 Education Act introduced a change in the Department's codes which hitherto had simply been the codified minutes of the Department setting out the conditions necessary for the earning of a grant. Now the Codes, containing regulations for the conducting of schools for the coming year, were laid before the House of Commons for thirty days. Thus members could exercise a much more direct and detailed control over the day-to-day conduct of the schooland, once accepted, they assumed the force of an Act of Parliament. The first of these new Codes was that of 1871. In it can be seen the beginning of a new liberal policy pursued by the Department which was to free education from the narrow concept of what constituted an education suitable for the poorer classes in the early part of the nineteenth century. This Code demanded higher standards in the basic subjects. The six Standards of the Revised Code were modified, Standard 1 was abolished, Standard 2 became the new Standard 1 and a new Standard 6 was added. In 1882 a Standard 7 was introduced. A more generous scale of grants was introduced which was designed to encourage a more liberal curriculum and remove some of the harsher aspects of the Revised Code. The Revised Code had limited the total grant to 12/- per head, 4/- for attendance and 8/- for success in the 3 R's, a third of this 8/- to be withheld

for each failure in the 3 R's. The new regulations increased the grant to 6/- for attendance, denoting growing interest in getting children to school and under their civilising influence regardless of their success in examinations, and 12/- for passes in the 3 R's. In addition a further 3/- was granted for a pass in not more than two "specific" subjects, the scope of which was extended to include mathematics, science and languages, by children in Standards 4, 5 and 6. Accommodation was to be provided on the basis of 8 square feet per child, 10 square feet in the Board Schools, with due attention to be given to ventilation and lighting. In 1873 provision for warming the school became essential. Schools were to be in charge of certificated teachers and uncertificated assistant were encouraged to acquire the certificate.

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E.H. Brodie, the H.M.I. for the Salford area was

1. The Inspectors for the region, referred to in this Chapter are as follows:-

- 1871 Rev. W.J. Kennedy - N.W. District of England.
- 1872 E.H. Brodie - County of Lancaster.
- 1873 Rev. W.J. Kennedy - N.W. District of England.
- 1874 Rev. J. Lomax - Stockport.
- 1875 Rev. W.J. Kennedy - N.W. District of England.
- 1877 Ibid
- 1878 Rev. F.R. Cornish - Salford and Bolton.
- 1879 H.E. Oakley - Manchester district.
- 1881 Ibid
- 1882 Rev. F.R. Cornish - Salford and Bolton.
- 1883 H.E. Oakley - Manchester district.
- 1885 Ibid
- 1887 W. Scott Coward - N.W. District of England.
- 1889 Ibid
- 1891 Ibid
- 1894 Ibid

convinced of the value of the 1871 Code. After stressing that his remarks were not designed to seek favour, he declared: "The Code of 1871, the most liberal document ever issued from the Education Department in my fourteen years' experience, and the consequent "Instructions to Inspectors" have done much, very much, both to promote sound, accurate and practical teaching of essentials, and to stimulate the teaching of higher subjects. _____ Education has, I humbly think, both been strengthened at the bottom and elevated at the top, nay I will say also that the wings of the building have been extended by the very liberal encouragement now offered for extras.....".¹

In 1874 the grant for attendance was reduced from 6/- to 5/- and the 1/- saved was set aside to encourage singing. In the next year a further 1/- was taken from the attendance grant to be used, not to encourage further subjects, but to be paid following a satisfactory report on the discipline in the school and the moral training provided. At the same time the 12/- grant paid for passes in the 3 R's was reduced to 9/- but an extra 4/- per child was given for creditable

1. Reports of the Committee of Council on Education, 1872, p. 51.

passes in the "class" subjects, such as history, geography and grammar in the lower part of the school. Special £10 to £15 grants were given to help schools in particularly poor districts. Thus the movement in the early 1870's was away from the payment by results principle of cash for the easily measured 3 R's and attendance, to a much wider concept of payments designed to encourage a more liberal curriculum and those intangible, more subjective, aspects of the life of the school which are of equal importance in the process of education to the teaching of basic skills.

This process was continued by the merit grant of 1882, the recommendations of the Cross Commission and the 1890 Code. In 1882 the system of merit grants, ranging from 1/- to 3/- per child, was introduced. The aim of this grant was to give recognition to the quality of a school over and above success in the 3 R's and encourage good organisation, sound discipline and intelligent instruction which, although they raised the general quality of a school, did not necessarily bring more grant-earning passes. The recommendations of the Cross Commission may be summarised under three headings. First of all accommodation should be provided in all upper schools at 10 square feet

per child, there should be more playground space and higher standards in the structure, furnishing and hygienic condition of school buildings. Secondly, the staffing ratio in schools ought to be improved, salaries should be fixed and no longer dependent on the grant earned and much greater care should be given to the training of teachers. Finally the Commission recommended a more liberal curriculum in elementary schools and a more elastic system of grading than the rigid yearly Standards.¹ The Code of 1890 put some of these recommendations into practice with a larger fixed grant and the introduction of compulsory drawing and the encouragement of Science, physical education and manual work.

There was undoubtedly considerable improvement in the quality of education in the Manchester area as the Department's Codes began to bear fruit. A child at school in Manchester in the 1890's was receiving a far better education than that which his grandfather had received in the 1830's, but there were still many deficiencies. The

1. Cross Commission, Final Report, 1888, pp.209-217.

annual reports made by the Inspectors bear witness to the progress that was being made, but also contain references to problems which remained to be solved and made suggestions as to what could be done to bring further improvement. The problem of quality remained one which was much more difficult to overcome than that of providing school places or enforcing attendance.

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1. The Code of 1871 placed all elementary schools, both Board and voluntary, under the same Inspector within a district. This was approved of by the Inspectorate since it gave them the opportunity to make comparisons and seeing the overall picture (Rev. H.J. Kennedy, Inspector for N.H. District of England, Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1871, p. 54).

A. Teachers.

The Revised Code did little to enhance the standing of the profession and had an adverse effect generally on its quality. There was an immediate and rapid fall in the number of pupil-teachers appointed and considerably less enthusiasm amongst such pupil-¹ teachers as there were. The quality of training was affected. Applicants to training colleges were fewer and of an inferior quality and grants to colleges were reduced from £113,242 in 1863 to £70,752 in 1867. Some colleges were reduced to demanding payment from their students which led to a further decline in the number of² students. Teachers generally felt that they had lost status. No longer were they servants of the state but of the school managers. The Inspector was no longer a friend and ally but an inquisitor whose caprice could³ ruin the teacher's career. Many of the best teachers⁴ left the profession or opened private schools.

This apathy began to lift by the late 1860's as the debates leading to the 1870 Education Act revived

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1. Asher Tropp, The School Teachers - The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the present day, Heinemann, 1959, p. 94.
 2. Ibid, p. 95.
 3. Ibid, p. 96.
 4. Ibid

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enthusiasm. The damage done during the 1860's, however, took a long time to repair and the quality of teachers throughout this period remained doubtful.

When the pupil-teacher system was introduced in 1846 it was thought that eventually there would be only two kinds of teacher, the pupil-teachers and the trained certificated teacher who had completed a two-year period of training at a training college. There developed, however, a class of uncertificated assistant teachers recruited from the pupil-teachers, who passed directly into teaching without first going to training college. Every encouragement was given to these assistants to become certificated. The Revised Code made it possible for uncertificated assistant teachers over 21, who had been either pupil-teachers or been favourably reported twice by an Inspector, to take the certificate examination.² It is possible, therefore, during this period to come to a much clearer decision as to what constituted a trained teacher, than it was during the early years of the century.

1. Ibid, p. 103.

2. R.W. Rich, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the nineteenth century, Cambridge, 1933, p. 183.

A trained teacher was a certificated teacher, the Code of 1871 making the employment of such a teacher for each school department a condition for receiving the grant.

There seems to have been general satisfaction with most of the assistants in the publicly-provided elementary schools in the district at this time, but it did not go beyond this. Tribute was frequently paid to their conscientiousness, remarks such as " a very meritorious and painstaking body",¹ and "for the most part zealous in their teaching work and careful and successful in maintaining discipline"² are numerous, but there are few references to exceptionally-talented or imaginative teachers. E.H. Brodie wrote that he sometimes wished for one or two more "heaven born teachers", by which he meant those who combined "enthusiasm with patient drudgery, vivid and stimulating teaching with the accurate forecasting of all the learners' difficulties"³. The training opportunities were certainly wider after 1861 than they had been. The

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1872, p.52.

2. Ibid, 1877, p.468.

3. Ibid, 1872, p.52.

products of the pupil-teacher and training college system were increasing in number and were in most cases better teachers than their predecessors, but they were still open to criticism on account of the narrowness and shallowness of their training.

In 1887 W. Scott Coward, H.M.I. for the North West area, made a scathing attack on the quality of teachers and the training which produced them,¹ an attack which is not only of interest as evidence of the failings of teachers at this time, but also indicative of the higher standards which were being demanded of teachers. He began his comments by stressing the importance of the teacher. "It is the teacher who after all makes the school," he maintained, and paying tribute to their abilities declared that most of them were painstaking, honest and punctual, producing good grant-earning results. But having said that, he continued, he had said all that could be said of them. They did not understand the true meaning of education, were incapable of moulding,

1. Ibid, 1887, pp.284-5.

developing or stimulating the "mental faculties" of the children and simply concentrated on the transfer of knowledge. "They are not so educated as to become the nursing fathers and nursing mothers of an intelligent thoughtful people," he concluded. Many of them were incapable of teaching the three highest Standards and even less able to instruct pupil-teachers. The reason for these deficiencies he claimed was the poor education and training which most teachers had received. The trained teachers who had been to a training college were the best, but the majority of these passed into training college, so badly prepared by their elementary education and pupil-teacher apprenticeship that they were incapable of benefiting from their training. Much of the teaching in the colleges was also unsatisfactory. He particularly condemned those teachers who gained a certificate without training after acquiring the little knowledge necessary to pass the certificate examination.

The assistant Inspectors echoed this criticism of the teachers in their districts. Mr. Perez, the Inspector for the Carlisle district, maintained that some untrained teachers held their own against their "more favoured¹ colleagues", but most were at distinct disadvantage and

1. Ibid, 1887, p.286.

many very weak. Mr. Harrison, writing about the situation in Liverpool, held that: "The pressing educational need of the hour is the first-rate teacher."¹ After 1870 the demand for teachers increased enormously, but as a result, he wrote, many unsuitable candidates became teachers, consequently the problem was one of quality not quantity. The pupil-teacher system, he continued, did not lead to a sound education because of the great demands which were made on the pupil-teachers time and energy and the trained teacher completed his training at the age of 20 or 21 after a period at college which trained, but did not educate. A model teacher, he concluded, should be "a man of wide views, broad sympathies and some culture".²

The Inspectorate had no doubts as to the superiority of the trained and certificated teacher, imperfect instruments though they might be. W.J. Kennedy, H.M.I. for the North West area regarded it as "a proved and certain fact that a body of trained, certificated teachers is vastly superior in skill and attainment, to a body of

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, 1887, p.286.

untrained and uncertificated teachers. They are, as has been said, 'different animals'¹. Yet the Manchester School Board at this time seems to have preferred the untrained teachers. Coward wrote that the Manchester Board encouraged the pupil-teachers to become assistants in their old schools and possibly pass into the ranks of the certificated teacher by examination, without training. The reason for this, he held, was that they were cheaper² than trained teachers, and also they were "more plastic" than their college trained colleagues. He did concede that it was difficult for the Board to recruit fully-trained and certificated teachers, since the demand for them was so great and many pupil-teachers were prevented from going to college by domestic circumstances. This was a common problem in many Lancashire towns and Coward urged that training facilities should be brought within

1. Ibid, 1871, p.55.

2. In 1894 a trained and certificated male teacher earned £80 - £100 p.a., £65 - £75 for female teachers. Certificated but untrained teachers earned £70 - £90 (£55 - £65) whilst uncertificated teachers earned £55 - £70 (£40 - £50). (Manchester School Board, 8th Report, 1894, p. 54.)

reach of these who wanted to become trained.¹

In his evidence before the Cross Commission, Birley defended his preference for untrained teachers. He pointed out that the bulk of the children in school were under eleven and it was desirable that young children should be taught in small classes. This was only possible if the cheaper untrained and pupil-teachers were employed. He gave figures for Salford which showed that whilst the certificated assistant could be given classes of between 50 and 60 children, in practice seldom more than 48, uncertificated teachers had 40 to 50 children, pupil-teachers in their third or fourth years had 30 to 40 and young pupil-teachers had only 20 to 30.² He also expressed his preference for pupil-teachers who had not gone to the local secondary schools on Exhibitions, but had gone through the "routine of the public elementary school - so that they should take the class teaching according to what they themselves had been learning."³

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1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1887, p.286.
 2. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p.895 and p.903.
 3. Ibid, p.903.

Nunn, the Chairman of the Manchester Board, in his evidence said that hitherto the Manchester Boards had preferred untrained teachers, and that many of them, 83 out of 140, were heads of schools. He, on the other hand, did not regard a teacher as qualified¹ without a certificate.

If the assistant teachers at this time left much to be desired, the pupil-teachers, and the system which produced them, came in for even more criticism. The Inspector's reports were almost unanimous in their adverse comments on the quality of the pupil-teachers, the single exception being Wylie, reporting on the Rochdale and Oldham district in 1878. He maintained that the pupil-teachers in his area were doing valuable work and giving promise of a successful career. He praised in particular the Rochdale School Board's pupil-teachers: "I have pleasure in recording that a high standard of excellence is attained as a rule by the pupil-teachers apprenticed in schools under the management of the

1. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p.793.

Rochdale School Board, where part of the salary is paid
as bonus.¹ Examination successes amongst pupil-teachers
in this area were better than those in the rest of the
district.² Wylie was, however, aware that this was
not a typical situation.

The reasons for the poor quality of most pupil-
teachers were basically the same as they had always been,
the difficult of getting the right quality of entrant
in the first place but, most important, the unsatisfactory
nature of the education and training of the pupil-teachers.
The effect of this can be seen in the poor performance
of the pupil-teachers in the classroom and indifferent
results of the pupil-teachers' examinations.

The Rev. W.J. Kennedy was particularly concerned
about the problem of getting the right quality of pupil-
teachers, especially boys. The reason for this problem was
the competition, in a commercial centre such as Manchester
and Salford, for the services of reasonably well-educated

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878, p.765.

2. Ibid

boys from Standard 6 and 7 of the higher grade schools. Rates of pay in offices and warehouses were relatively high and attracted the best boys. There was also, Kennedy claimed, a widespread and quite erroneous belief that the supply of schoolmasters exceeded demand which acted as a deterrent to recruitment.¹ Teachers at this time gave, what is to the modern ear, the familiar reason that teachers were underpaid, had no prospects and led a hard life.²

The lack of efficiently-organised preparation for the pupil-teacher was a problem which those responsible for education in the district, could have tackled, but they failed to do so until late in the period. Indeed the standard amongst many pupil-teachers seems to have fallen, the main reason for this being undoubtedly the fact that since the Revised Code, head teachers no longer received payments for instructing them. Kennedy repeatedly pointed

1. Ibid, 1877, p.466.

2. Ibid, 1875, p.318.

in the 1870's to the short comings of the pupil-teacher and the system which produced them. In his report for 1873¹ he claimed that their attainment was deficient, few could divide £10 by £3, and they were completely lacking in culture. He further suggested that results could be improved if a cash payment were made to pupil-teachers, depending on the results of their examinations. In 1874 the Manchester School Board did, in fact, introduce examinations with prizes for pupil-teachers, but after the first examination, there was found to be a "great want of accuracy" and "many failures".² Other Inspectors echoed Kennedy's criticisms. H.E. Oakley, H.M.I. for the Manchester district, wrote in 1879³ that their work was mechanical and that their training simply gave them a collection of ill-digested facts, many knowing the names of tributaries of minor rivers, but they could not answer questions requiring common sense. He further claimed that they were deficient in "animation and brightness," and

1. Ibid, 1873, p.118.

2. Ibid, 1875, p.319.

3. Ibid, 1879, p.345.

should be given more opportunity to read amusing books
and play games.¹ In Rochdale the standard of pupil-
teachers was generally higher than elsewhere in the
district, but training seems to have been very much
a hit or miss affair, the quality of a pupil-teacher's
instruction depending on the quality of the teacher
under whose care he happened to be placed. One teacher
took his students to attend evening classes in Manchester
and one of these eventually came fourth out of 1,045
candidates.² This, however, was not a usual occurrence
in the Manchester district.

As may be expected the young pupil-teacher,
labouring under a purely elementary education, a five hour
teaching day, a further two hours of indifferent tuition
in the evening, not to mention private study, was frequently
not a good teacher. The Rev. F.F. Cornish, H.M.I. for the
Salford district, wrote in 1878³ that he devoted much time
to listening to pupil-teachers in the classroom and found

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1. Ibid, 1881, p.365.
 2. Ibid, 1878, p.765.
 3. Ibid, 1878, p.540.

great variation in their quality. Some lessons would do credit to a second year training college student, but too many were worthless. Most lessons were lacking in visual material and preparation. He concluded: "But with all the pedantry into which they are apt to degenerate, they are useful as a protest against the notion that teaching can be done by rule of thumb, without preparation."¹ A year later Oakley wrote of their overworked and strained faces and criticised their lessons generally for being too difficult and in particular for containing difficult words without explanation, not sticking to the subject and being too long.² He also refused to recommend indifferent pupil-teachers as assistants at the end of their apprenticeship since they rarely tried to improve themselves or seek certificated status and suggested that all uncertificated assistants should be obliged to pass the training college admission examination before the age of 25.³

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, 1879, p.345.

3. Ibid, 1881, p.364.

The results of the pupil-teacher examinations were also unsatisfactory. Rochdale produced the best results. In 1878, 273 pupil-teachers were examined and approximately 25% of these passed well.¹ In the same year in Salford, 749 candidates were examined and only some 10% passed well.² The Manchester results were the worst of all,³ by 1887 only 8.6% of 857 pupil-teachers passed well.

Scott Coward positively lashed the pupil-teacher system as it existed in Manchester in the 1880's.⁴ He condemned the haphazard training of pupil-teachers pointing out that Manchester was particularly at fault in this, many candidates from rural schools enjoying fewer educational facilities, producing pupil-teachers who were just as good as, if not better than, the Manchester pupil-teachers. The difficulty of the examination and the system of marking which

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1. Ibid, 1878, p.755.
 2. Ibid, 1878, p.540.
 3. Ibid, 1887, p.287.
 4. Ibid

specified a certain percentage in all subjects before the candidate was classified, were criticised, but this being taken into account, the examination results were still very unsatisfactory. He concluded: "It is into such ill-furnished hands that we deliver hundreds of children to be taught, educated forsooth." ¹ With a ratio of 20 children per pupil-teacher some 17,140 children in the Manchester area were handed over to the pupil-teachers. "Can we wonder," he wrote, "at the mental flatness and inertia ² which infests our schools?"

Improvement in the pupil-teacher system came in the late 1880's with the establishment of pupil-teacher centres. As early as 1875 Kennedy reported that many Boards were aware of the defects in the instruction of the pupil-teachers and were planning to improve it. Liverpool set up a pupil-teacher home where pupil-teachers could receive instruction and live if their home environment was not ³ conducive to study. In 1877 he suggested that pupil-teachers in the Manchester area should be grouped and instructed

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, 1887, p.287.

3. Ibid, 1875, p.319.

according to the year of their apprenticeship, thus making it possible for students at the same standard to be taught together and ensuring that larger groups were taught by good teachers.¹ The Manchester Board tried to improve the system of training. Quarterly examination prizes were instituted in 1874,² great care was taken over the selection of candidates,³ and pupil-teacher and special classes were introduced in 1876 and 1879,⁴ but no real progress was made until pupil-teacher centres were established in the district between 1886 and 1888.⁵

The case for pupil-teacher centres was effectively made by Scott Coward in 1887⁶ when he compared the examination

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1. Ibid, 1877, p.467.
 2. Manchester School Board, 2nd Report, 1876, p.8.
 3. Ibid, 1882, p.9.
 4. Ibid
 5. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1889, p.322.
 6. Ibid, 1887. p.288.

performance of pupil-teachers in Liverpool where there was a pupil-teacher centre, and Manchester where there was not. As the following figures show, the first-class passes in Liverpool were double those for Manchester and the third-class passes in Liverpool were well below those in Manchester.

Table XXIII showing percentage of passes in various classes amongst pupil-teachers in Manchester and Liverpool, 1887. Taken from Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1887, p.288.

	Liverpool		Manchester	
	(male)	(female)	(male)	(female)
1st class passes	33%	60%	16%	28%
2nd class passes	54%	31%	62%	57%
3rd class passes	13%	0%	22%	15%

Pupil-teacher centres appeared in Rochdale in 1886, Oldham in 1888 and Manchester and Salford in 1890, established by the Boards. ¹ The Manchester centre provided instruction

1. Ibid, 1889, p.322.

before morning school started and on Saturday morning.¹
 Many pupil-teachers in the voluntary schools remained outside the pupil-teacher centres, but amongst those who did attend the centres the improved performance at examinations was marked as the following figures indicate.

Table XXIV Results of examinations taken by Manchester School Board pupil-teachers following attendance at pupil-teacher centres. Taken from Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1891, p.362.

	Number examined	Passed well	%	Passed fairly	%	Not classified	%	Grant per head
1887	379	35	9.2	194	51.1	150	39.5	£1. 3. 0.
1888	362	48	13.3	222	61.3	92	25.4	£1. 11. 5.
1889	346	57	16.4	226	65.3	63	18.2	£1. 14. 7½.
1890	279	61	21.8	187	67.0	31	11.1	£1. 18. 6.
1891	205	46	22.4	126	61.4	33	16.1	£1. 18. 11.

1. Manchester School Board, 7th Report, 1891, p.45.

The steady improvement since 1887, when concern for the training of pupil-teachers was increasing, is clear from these figures.

Such was the problem of quality amongst teachers in the Manchester district, with fully-trained and certificated teachers of a reasonable standard, and untrained and pupil-teachers of a very doubtful quality. Many of the teachers in the district were untrained and the effect of this on the standard of education generally, must have been great. There had been considerable improvement since the years before 1870 when only some 35% of the teachers were trained, but there was certainly no room for complacency and, in the case of the Manchester School Board, there was a great lack of trained teachers.

In 1879 only 35% of the teachers in the Manchester district were untrained.¹ The Inspector reporting this fact, H.E. Oakley, expressed his surprise at finding what he considered to be such a large proportion of untrained teachers, and gave the reasons as a desire on the part of the pupil-teachers to begin earning as assistant teachers

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1879, p. 344.

as soon as they had completed their apprenticeship,
the shortage of training college places and the influence
of many school managers who regarded training as unnecessary.¹
If Oakley's figure is correct, there had been an enormous
increase in the number of trained teachers and it is
surprising that he should have regarded this figure
of 35% untrained, as exceptionally high. From this
relatively high proportion of 65% of teachers trained,
the situation deteriorated considerably. Of the 653
teachers added to the teaching force in the district
between 1880 and 1881, only 50% were trained² and by 1885
out of a teaching force of 11,748, 4,756, approximately
36% were certificated, leaving 64% untrained.³ The figure
for the country as a whole seems to have been about 41%
trained in 1897.⁴

The problem of untrained teachers was greatest in
the Manchester Board Schools where, as a result of the

1. Ibid, 1879, p.344.

2. Ibid, 1881, p.364.

3. Ibid, 1885, p.287.

4. Birchenough, op. cit., p.389.

Board's policy of preferring untrained teachers, the proportion of certificated teachers was incredibly small. In 1876 only 18% of the Board's teachers were certificated and this figure increased slowly to only 39% in 1894.¹ This was in marked contrast to the national picture where the proportion of trained teachers was higher in the Board schools than the voluntary schools.²

Table XXV showing proportion of trained and untrained teachers in Manchester schools.

	Manchester Schools Generally.		Manchester Board Schools.	
	Trained	Untrained	Trained	Untrained
1879	65%	35%	17%	83%
1881	50%	50%	23.5%	76.5%
1885	36%	64%	28%	72.0%

1. See Table XXVI p.306.

2. Birchenough, op. cit., p.389.

Table XXVI showing number of trained and untrained teachers in Manchester Board Schools, taken from Manchester School Board 2nd Report, 1876, p.8; 3rd Report, 1879, p.9; 4th Report, 1882, p.9; 5th Report, 1885, p.8; 6th Report, 1888, p.9; 7th Report, 1891, p.43; 8th Report, 1894, p.53.

Date	Classification	No.	% certificated teachers	% assistant of all kind
1876	Certificated Principal Teachers Certificated Assistant Teachers Uncertificated Assistant Teachers Pupil-teachers Paid monitors (candidate pupil-teachers) Total	33) 2) 15 112 41 — 203 —	18%))) 25%
1879	Certificated Principal Teachers Certificated Assistant Teachers Uncertificated Assistant Teachers Pupil-teachers Paid monitors (candidate pupil-teachers) Total	67) 8) 56 194 113 — 438 —	17%))) 29%

Date	Classification	No.	% certificated teachers	% assistants of all kinds
1882	Certificated Principal Teachers Certificated Assistant Teachers Uncertificated Assistant Teachers Pupil-teachers Paid monitors (candidate pupil-teachers) Total	106) 55) 116) 291) <u>120</u> 688 <hr/>	23.5%	40%
1885	Certificated Principal Teachers Certificated Assistant Teachers Uncertificated Assistant Teachers Pupil-teachers Paid monitors (candidate pupil-teachers) Total	128) 114) 150) 368) <u>98</u> 858 <hr/>	28%	45%
1888	Certificated Principal Teachers Certificated Assistant Teachers Uncertificated Assistant Teachers Pupil-teachers and candidates Total	136) 162) 170) <u>486</u> 954 <hr/>	31%	49%

Date	Classification	No.	% certificated teachers	% assistant of all kind
1891	Certificated Principal Teachers (trained) Certificated Principal Teachers (untrained) Cortificated Assistant Teachers (trained) Certificated Assistant Teachers (untrained) Uncertificated Assistant Teachers Pupil-teacher and candidates Special teachers	59) 60) 77) 170) 187 394 28 ———	38%	56%
	Total	975		
1894	Certificated Principal Teachers (trained) Certificated Principal Teachers (untrained) Certificated Assistant Teachers (trained) Certificated Assistant Teachers (untrained) Uncertificated Assistant Teachers Pupil-teachers and candidates Special teachers	68) 60) 157) 130) 318 424 46 ———	39%	65%
	Total	1203		

B. Curriculum and Method.

The problem with the curriculum in the schools in the district before 1870 was its lack of variety. As a result of the Revised Code, schools rarely taught anything beyond the grant-earning 3 R's. After 1870, however, efforts were made to liberalise the curriculum generally, introduce scientific and practical subjects and develop physical education as well as maintain high standards in the 3 R's. The "specific" subjects introduced in 1871 and the "class" subjects of 1875, extended in 1880, as grant-earning studies, did much to liberalise the curriculum. Thus the elementary school curriculum by 1875 was made up of the basic subjects, the "class" subjects, optional for the whole school, and the "specific" subjects, optional in Standards 4, 5 and 6. Emphasis on scientific and practical education was the result of the challenge to Britain's industrial supremacy of the latter part of the century. The Science and Art Department encouraged the teaching of science and the Codes of 1882 and 1890 for the first time gave direct aid to the teaching of elementary science. ¹ Practical subjects were encouraged by

1. Birchenough, op. cit., p.359.

the Minutes of 1846, but the Revised Code left needlework as the only grant-earning subject. A new impetus was given, however, by the Royal Commission on Technical Education 1881 to 1884, the Cross Commission 1886 to 1888, and the Science and Art Department grants in 1890.¹ The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 to 1871 aroused interest in military drill as a suitable subject for elementary schools, being first recognised in 1871.² This was the beginning of physical education and the Code of 1890³ replaced drill with "suitable physical exercise".

These developments can be seen in the Manchester district. The 3 R's continued to provide the basis of the work of the schools, but there was increasing concern that standards should be raised. Reading standards improved, no doubt as a result of the insistence on the part of the Inspectorate that the teaching of reading was capable of improvement. All Inspectors urged reading for understanding as opposed to the merely mechanical process it was in danger

1. Ibid, p.367.

2. Ibid, p.363.

3. Ibid

of becoming with large classes chanting the pages of their reading books in order to earn the grant. Kennedy pressed for the use of dictionaries, as a prelude to encyclopaedias and libraries, and as an aid to intelligent reading.¹ There were, he pointed out, two problems to be overcome before they could be effectively introduced, the cost of purchasing them and getting the children to use them. The first problem would be solved by the growing cheapness of dictionaries, the second could be overcome by a good teacher. He mentioned a Manchester teacher who introduced his children to dictionaries through the use of pictures cut from the London Illustrated News, mounted and given references to the reading book, thus building up his own pictorial dictionary,² Wylie, commenting on the situation in Rochdale³ criticised the way in which reading was drilled into the children and the haphazard way in which the subject generally was taught. Children were not taught to read with understanding since it was assumed that young children, on the one hand, were incapable of reading with understanding, whilst older children, on the

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1873, p.114.

2. Ibid

3. Ibid, 1878, p.761.

other hand, had sufficient intelligence to understand without formal teaching. He also severely criticised the reading books in use, arguing that, as the subject received less and less attention, books grew more and more difficult, and quoted the following passage from a Standard 6 book: "How is one to tell of the rounded bosses of furred and beaming green - the starred divisions of rubied bloom, fine filmed as if the rock spirits could spin porphyry as we do glass - the traceries of intricate silver, and the fringes of amber, lustrous, aborescent, burnished through every fibre into fitful brightness and glossy traverses of silken change, yet all subdued and pensive and framed for simplest sweetest offices of grace?"¹ He concluded: "What Lancashire clogs would guess that in all this cloud of Ruskinian imagery² there is only a description of some mosses on a rock?"³ Cornish, commenting on the same problem in Salford, pointed out that children, if suitably encouraged, could

1. Ibid, 1878, p.761.

2. Ibid

3. Ibid, 1878, p.542.

often arrive themselves at a much better meaning of passages read, than the cut and dried meanings to be learned by heart, which so many reading books contained. He expressed his pleasure at hearing of child interpret, "the swain mistrustless of his smutted face", as "Please, Sir, he'd a dirty face and he didnt know it!".

Standards of handwriting were generally good, though hampered by the use of inferior copy books whose sole merit was that they were cheap,¹ but spelling and composition left room for improvement. It was, in fact, a frequent complaint by the Inspectors that all activities which required intelligent thought, as opposed to mechanical repetition, were not completely satisfactory.

Arithmetic in particular was reasonably done so long as it was a simple mechanical process, but gave difficulty as soon as simple problems had to be dealt with. It always had been the subject which gave children the most difficulty and was introduced into early nineteenth century schools only with reluctance, usually because of the inability of teachers to cope with the subject. E.H. Brodie, the

1. Ibid, 1879, p.342.

H.M.I. for Lancashire, reported in 1872 that teachers in Bolton had petitioned for a relaxation in arithmetic for girls, since so much of their time was taken up with needlework.¹ The Inspectors were unanimous in their complaint that whilst standards in arithmetic were improving, problems requiring a little intelligent thought proved too much for most children. Kennedy wrote that most children preferred to do complicated long multiplication sums rather than simple problems.² Oakley wrote that "little problems requiring a modicum of common sense, are rarely done correctly."³ Coward noticed some improvement in the late 1880's, but doubted if the ability to work problems intelligently would improve unless there were more good teachers who understood what they were doing.⁴

The liberalising of the curriculum can best be summed up in Kennedy's comments on the introduction of singing, which he regarded as a "charming revolution".⁵ The two most

1. Ibid, 1872, p.51.

2. Ibid, 1873, p.117.

3. Ibid, 1879, p.343.

4. Ibid, 1889, p.308.

5. Ibid, 1873, p.114.

popular "class" subjects were grammar and geography, history being widely regarded as unsuitable for small children and best approached incidentally through reading.¹ Elementary science was not taught in the Manchester district until the very end of the period and most Inspectors considered it too difficult for elementary children.

Comments on the teaching of grammar and geography give a good insight into the aims and techniques of classroom teaching at this time. Both subjects were capable of being taught badly, especially geography which could easily degenerate into the learning by rote, of a string of useless facts. Kennedy, for example, complained in 1877 that geography was badly taught, since neglect of the subject at school led to children using simple books of facts at home, in the hope that a few might pass the examination and pick up a few extra shillings of grant.² Generally, however, these subjects seem to have produced good interesting teaching. Kennedy expressed the ideal to be aimed at in geography, when he

1. Ibid, 1878, p.763; p.542.

2. Ibid, 1877, p.463.

suggested that maps of the neighbourhood were equally as important as maps of other parts of the world and that geography was, not chiefly learning lists of names, but rather "learning to be curious".¹ The teaching of grammar also was recommended by him as the only subject in elementary schools "in the region of pure thought", and was not merely an exercise of memory.² Cornish similarly held that grammar was well taught and made the pupils think.³ Wylie maintained that both geography and grammar were well taught, and geography, especially, aroused interest. " I have many a pleasant recollection of the sharp, eager, bright faces which crowd round one to answer, as I unfold my blank maps."⁴ All the Inspectors stressed the values of maps and visual material in the teaching of geography and this must have done much to encourage their use. By 1882 Cornish could write that considerable progress had been made with geography owing

1. Ibid, 1873, p.117.

2. Ibid, 1877, p.463.

3. Ibid, 1878, p.542.

4. Ibid, 1878, p.763.

to the introduction of geographical readers, maps and
1
illustrations.

The "specific" subjects, penetrated the elementary school curriculum only slowly and reluctantly. When they did begin to appear the range of subjects taken was very limited with literature predominating since it was considered to be the subject which the children could "pick up" in their own time. By 1878 in the Salford and Bolton districts there were 823 passes only in the "specific" subjects, 379 of these were in literature, 141 in domestic economy and 165 in physical geography.² By 1882 there were 2,872 passes.³ The Manchester district in 1879 produced 3,839 passes, 1,869 in literature, 616 in domestic economy, 551 in physical geography with, surprisingly, 453 passes in physiology.⁴ A peak was reached in 1881 with 5,452 passes,⁵ falling to approximately 3,000

1. Ibid, 1882, p.300.

2. Ibid, 1878, p.536.

3. Ibid, 1882, p.301.

4. Ibid, 1879, p.343.

5. Ibid, 1881, p.360.

in 1885¹ and some 2,000 in 1887.² The reasons for this slow spread of the "specific" subjects, were, first of all, the fact that there were not enough children in the upper Standards to make their introduction worthwhile. The "specific" subjects only began to spread when the higher grade schools developed.³ Secondly, most schools could earn a sufficient grant without introducing the "specific" subjects.⁴ Thirdly, the children, and frequently the teachers,⁵ were incapable of dealing with these subjects. It was for this reason that Inspectors did not encourage their introduction in the Manchester district. It was felt that in predominantly working-class districts such as Manchester, children did not have sufficient time at school to deal with these subjects properly. Oakley wrote in 1879: "I have not found that children of ten or eleven years of age in Standard 4

1. Ibid, 1885, pp.278 - 9.

2. Ibid, 1887, p.298.

3. Ibid, 1871, p.52.

4. Ibid, 1874, p.109.

5. Ibid, 1877, p.465; 1885, pp.278/9.

derive much benefit from the specific subjects." ¹ Again
in 1887 Coward wrote that the "specific" subjects were
"productive of so little intellectual good that the time
and money spent on them would have been better spent
otherwise." ²

Practical subjects also were introduced into Manchester
schools slowly, the main problem being lack of adequate
facilities for practical work. Needlework was universally
taught, indeed it seems to have taken up an inordinate amount
of time, but often not as well as it might have been. Oakley
commented that in Salford schools it was rarely taught well
unless committees of ladies came into the schools to
superintend. ³ Domestic Economy, commended by all Inspectors
as being a suitable subject for schools, could only be
taught as a theoretical subject since cooking facilities were
not available. Liverpool had practical cookery classes
by 1885 and Oakley contrasted this with Manchester where there
were no such classes. ⁴ Not until 1886 did the Manchester Board

1. Ibid, 1879, p.343.

2. Ibid, 1887, p.298.

3. Ibid, 1878, p.542.

4. Ibid, 1885, p.284.

begin to organise cookery classes under a superintendent with assistant cooks in eighteen day, and six evening schools, using portable gas stoves set up in the classrooms.¹ Manual work was similarly delayed. In 1881 the Chairman of the Manchester Board and John Sutton, the Board's organising master,² visited Paris to obtain information about the teaching of manual work. On their return it was introduced as an experiment in two schools.³ By 1891, however, there had been little progress.⁴ In that year, the Bishop of Salford started a school to teach manual skills in Manchester.⁵

Drill, on the other hand, quickly found its way into the school curriculum. By 1872 it was to be found in most boys' schools and several girls' schools in Lancashire.⁶ Brodie

1. Ibid, 1887, p.298.

2. See p. 337.

3. Manchester School Board, 4th Report, 1882, p.7.

4. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1891, p. 358.

5. Ibid

6. Ibid, 1872, p.52.

wrote: "It is doing a great deal of good to flatten the round backs of the boys and to smarten them up after leaning over their writing desks." ¹ By 1882 it was well established with inter-school competitions organised ² and its character was changing from simple military drill. In some Salford Board Schools, dumb-bell exercises with music were being introduced. ³ By 1891 the physical training aspect of drill was being emphasised by the Board schools. ⁴ Teaching was, however, usually in the hands of sergeants from regiments stationed in the district and, in some cases, members of staff who were members of the volunteers. ⁵

Whilst the curriculum in the schools was undoubtedly extending and giving children of the district a fuller understanding of the world in which they lived, teaching methods still left much to be desired. The basic reason for the poor teaching was undoubtedly the poor quality of the

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1. Ibid
 2. Ibid, 1882, p.302.
 3. Ibid
 4. Ibid, 1891, p.358.
 5. Ibid, 1872, p.52; 1882, p.302.

teachers. Kennedy was in no doubt as to where the fault lay. He wrote in 1877: "The fact most forcibly thrust on my observations is that the greatest defect of our public elementary school education in England is that the teaching staff in schools is very inadequate."¹ The monitors and the monitorial system might have disappeared, but the pupil-teachers and the uncertificated assistants who had replaced them were largely incapable of comprehending a lesson as anything more than the transference of facts. Even this relatively simple task was performed indifferently, the teacher relying on words to the almost complete neglect of experience, demonstration and experiment. Cornish writing of Salford teachers in 1878 complained that teachers failed to show specimens and illustrations.² He instanced one pupil-teacher, who gave a lesson on Egypt, without the use of a map or blackboard, another who, when talking about a needle, used an ordinary-sized needle which could not be seen by the class, another, giving a lesson on the fox, telling stories from Aesop's Fables as if they were facts of natural history, and yet another who preferred to use the authority of ancient

1. Ibid, 1877, p.464.

2. Ibid, 1878, p.540.

authors to prove that Lancashire was "well watered" instead of relying on the children's experience of this fact. There was, he concluded, a widespread belief that object lessons were, "only got up for special occasions as a matter of form!"¹

It could be argued that teachers at this time may be excused the pedestrian character of their lessons on the grounds that they had few facilities for making their lessons more alive. A good teacher should, however, be able to make his lessons useful and interesting under the most unpromising circumstances.² Cornish took up this point in 1882.³ It had often been put to him, he wrote, that if teachers did not have the equipment to give object lessons they should not try. But, he pointed out, born teachers were distinguished by "a power something akin to that of a conjuror,"⁴ and should be able to work with the simplest

1. Ibid

2. Teachers in developing countries produce good lessons under circumstances which are often reminiscent of this period. Courses for science teachers in West Africa for example include the building of home-made scientific equipment.

3. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1882, p.305.

4. Ibid

equipment. He gave the example of a teacher giving a lesson on the thermometer who warmed it in his hands and traced the rise of the mercury with his finger. It was only after the lesson that Cornish discovered that the bulb of the thermometer was broken and that the teacher had created a very effective illusion.¹ He concluded by urging an improvement in the quality of charts and diagrams being produced for use in schools.

Another reason for the poor quality of teaching was the effect of the Revised Code, which continued to restrict experiment and ensure that much day-to-day teaching became repetitive drilling to push as many children as possible past the Inspector in order to earn a grant. In the 1880's, the problem of 'over pressure', affecting the health of both teachers, especially pupil-teachers, and children, resulting from the examination system of payment by results, was widely discussed in the district. It was felt that the additional burden of "class" and "specific" subjects, was too much for many children. Kennedy, however, did not think this to be the case in Manchester and considered instead that they acted as a stimulus. He had noticed a marked improvement in "intelligence and general mental activity", since

1. Ibid

1
they had been introduced. The outcry against 'over pressure',
became particularly loud following the Code of 1882 and was
discussed at a conference on "Education under Healthy Conditions",
2
held in Manchester Town Hall in 1885. Before this Code many
children who were doubtful passes, were not entered for the
examinations, but the new Code made it obligatory for all children
on the register who had attended for more than 22 weeks, to be
presented. This, it was claimed, put excessive demands on the
schools to the detriment of teaching methods generally and the
weaker members of the school in particular. Oakley leapt to the
3
defence of the new Code in his Report for 1883 when he pointed
out that the results were still good despite the insistence
4
that all children be entered, which proved that the demands
made by the Code were not unreasonable. He was convinced that
six months' honest preparation enabled most children to pass the
examination. Schools in poor districts, where children were
likely to be under-nourished, should not attempt the "class"

1. Ibid., 1877, p.463.

2. Ibid., 1885, p.281.

3. Ibid., 1883, p.349.

4. See Table XXVII p. 327.

subjects and should concentrate instead on the 3 R's. Schools in average districts, on the other hand, could attempt the "class" subjects without strain, there being provision for the withdrawal of dull and delicate children.¹

Oakley dismissed the plea of 'over pressure' as being based on one or two cases about which doctors had written to the press and statements supposed to have been made by unnamed Inspectors demanding impossible results from the very young. Writing in 1885 he declared that the only case of 'over pressure' brought to his notice that year was of a doctor who maintained that a child's ill health was due to overwork at school. A second opinion subsequently denied this and the doctor in question withdrew his original diagnosis.² Nunn was convinced, however, that there was over pressure in Manchester.³ and Birley acknowledged some over pressure where "class" and "specific" subjects were taught in Salford.⁴ To cut down the strain imposed by payment by results, they both suggested changes

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1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1883, p.349.
 2. Ibid, 1885, p.281.
 3. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, pp.785 - 7.
 4. Ibid, p.898.

Table XXVII showing examination results in the Manchester district before and after the 1882 Code. Taken from Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1883, p. 348.

Standard	Reading % pass		Writing % pass		Arithmetic % pass	
	1882 - 3 Sept. - April	1883 May - Aug.	1882 - 3 Sept. - April	1883 May - Aug.	1882 - 3 Sept. - April	1883 May - Aug.
1	90.6	86.5	90	89.2	87.2	86.9
2	94.2	94.8	90.7	91.8	91.8	91.8
3	94.9	96.3	88.6	88.1	85.6	85.5
4	91.8	93.3	86.9	84.4	81.2	81.5
5	90.9	92.4	87.1	83.4	75.7	80.4
6	96.6	98.5	94.8	91	80.6	83.2
7	-	100	-	97.1	-	87

in the grant system. Nunn suggested that a larger grant should be given simply for attendance as opposed to performance in the examinations¹, whilst Birley thought that principal teachers should be paid a fixed salary unconnected with the Department's grant and provided with an adequate staff. He further suggested that children should not be kept at school for longer than an extra thirty minutes, as was often the case, and then only as a punishment for laziness.² Homework should also be optional.

1. Ibid, pp.785 - 7.

2. Ibid, p.898.

C. Accommodation.

As interest in education developed, the standard of school building, furnishing and equipment improved, but again there were glaring deficiencies, mainly inherited from the neglect of the early years of the century. The Departments Codes did much to improve standards and the Cross Commission recommended that the Department should be more exacting in requiring a proper amount of space, ten square feet for all schools, and adequate lighting, ventilation and playground space,¹ but progress was slow.

Kennedy wrote in 1873 that if the standard of education continued to rise, then classrooms would become increasingly important and suggested that schools should be built in future so that they could be expanded as the need arose and urged that doors should have glass panels so that pupil-teachers could be kept under observation, that care should be taken to reduce the noise level and that cloakrooms should be provided.² Yet Cornish, almost ten years later,³ was unimpressed by the standard of schools in the Salford district.

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1. Cross Commission, Final Report, 1888, p.209.
 2. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1873, p.114.
 3. Ibid, 1882, pp.304 - 5.

Whilst granting that progress had been made since 1870, he pointed out that the standard set in 1871 was not a high one. He further complained that Inspectors were powerless to bring about improvement, managers altering schools as they pleased without submitting their plans to the Education Department. His particular complaint was the lack of light in Salford schools and he condemned the use of opaque glass which, although it did not break easily and saved the expense of blinds, did little to overcome the effect of the smoky atmosphere¹ of the district.

Coward in 1887 described accommodation as being fairly satisfactory, but pointed out that standards would have been much higher if the requirements of the 1880's had been in force 40 to 50 years earlier when most of the schools of the area were being built. As the main defects, he listed structural faults, unsuitable shapes, particularly high pitched roofs, badly sited windows and defective ventilation.² Two years later he referred again to the unsatisfactory state of accommodation. He condemned the conservatism which still produced new schools in the style of 40 years ago with

1. Ibid, 1882, pp.304 - 5.

2. Ibid, 1887, p.280.

long rectangular rooms with classrooms at each end, and double banks of benches facing each other, the outcome of the pupil-teacher system where one certificated teacher with pupil-teachers had to instruct and discipline many children. After commenting on the lack of improvement in ventilation and lighting, he passed to the furnishing and equipment of the rooms. He recommended seats for teachers, especially women, which would enable them to rest, yet retain control of the class, and a plentiful supply of blackboards and small tables for displaying material for object lessons. Pictures decorating most classrooms were of a poor quality and he recommended the use of copies¹ of works of art.

There can be little doubt that some of the highest standards of accommodation were to be found in the Board Schools, where more money was available for the improvement and maintenance of old schools. The second Manchester Board explained several items in its accounts for the upkeep of buildings as being exceptional payments necessary to maintain² schools in temporary and unsuitable buildings. In 1883

1. Ibid, 1889, p.302.

2. Manchester School Board, 2nd Report, 1876, p.7.

the Board reported that much had been spent on "beautifying" and repairing school buildings, particular attention being paid to the addition of lavatories to schools in poor districts "in order to give lessons in practical cleanliness to children attending Board schools." Arrangements were also made for the caretaker at such schools, to help to wash¹ children coming to school in a dirty or neglected state.

Some indication of the standard of accommodation in Board schools can be seen from the statement of accounts issued by the Boards. The following figures show the rising cost of education generally and, in particular, the increasing amounts spent on equipping and maintaining Manchester Board schools.

1. Ibid., 1883, p.11.

Table XXVIII showing Manchester School Board expenditure on salaries and accommodation 1876 to 1885. Taken from Manchester School Board 2nd Report, 1876, p.7; 3rd Report 1879, p.9; 4th Report, 1882, p.9; 5th Report, 1885, p.43.

	£ 1876 - 7	£ 1877 - 8	£ 1878 - 9	£ 1879 - 80	£ 1880 - 1	£ 1881 - 2	£ 1882 - 3	£ 1883 - 4	£ 1884 - 5
Teachers' salaries	8,009	12,367	14,919	18,034	21,848	24,932	28,894	30,785	33,183
Books, apparatus, stationery	1,376	2,093	2,446	2,684	3,689	3,600	4,084	2,845	3,326
Rent, rates, taxes, insurance	698	1,290	1,450	1,761	1,791	1,727	2,195	2,058	2,371
Furniture and cleaning	916	1,526	2,018	379	836	616	1,709	942	1,444
Fuel and lighting	352	502	759	765	1,036	948	1,193	1,230	1,340
Repairs	385	938	1,154	538	951	1,154	1,496	1,679	1,954

D. Achievements in Board and Voluntary Schools compared.

The Education Department's Codes referred to all grant-earning schools and one of their effects was to increase the burden of the voluntary schools which were trying to compete with the rate-aided Board schools and provide an education which was equal to that of the Board schools. The voluntary system made a tremendous effort to meet the challenge, but the strain on them became increasingly severe. By 1890 the task had become almost impossible until in 1897, the Voluntary Schools Bill abolished the 17/6 grant limit, freed schools from the rates and provided an "aid grant" of 5/- to be paid through an Association of Voluntary Schools¹ formed for that purpose. These financial difficulties inevitably rebounded on the quality of the education provided in the voluntary schools and there can be little doubt that in the Manchester district, the Board schools were superior in quality.

Charges of unfair competition from the Board schools were frequent in the Manchester district. In 1876 the Rev. Thomas Daniels, the Rector of St. Paul's Church, Hulme, was approached

1. Birchenough, op. cit., pp.165 - 8.

by the Chairman of the Board, Birley, with a view to transferring the school attached to the Church to the Board. The Board pointed out that the Zion Chapel School, recently transferred to the Board, had been experiencing difficulties, but was now prospering and that the St. Paul's school would also improve if transferred. In declining the proposition, Daniels referred to the advantages which Board schools enjoyed, a fixed fee of 3d. a week, as compared with fees at St. Paul's ranging from 3d. to 6d. and the fact that Board schools supplied books free of charge. He concluded from this: "The case is simply one of under-selling, and it requires no argument to prove that any denominational schools situated at a reasonable distance from these Board schools, must have a hard struggle to keep up their numbers under such unfavourable and unfair competition."¹

Both Birley and Nunn referred to the competition of the Board schools in their evidence before the Cross Commission. Birley maintained that Board schools in Salford were superior in so far as buildings and playgrounds were concerned, but that both were equal in equipment. He said also that the

1. Letter quoted by West, op. cit., p.157.

curriculum in the Board schools was wider, offering as they¹ did "specific" subjects which most voluntary schools did not. Nunn also declared that the Board schools had better premises² and also larger staffs, though if these were made up of large numbers of pupil-teachers this would be a doubtful asset. Yet despite the difficulties facing the voluntary schools and the advantages of the Board schools, Birley believed that the competition was healthy and that the voluntary schools³ certainly had benefited from it since 1870. It is perhaps surprising that the voluntary schools survived as they did if the competition was as unequal as it was claimed to be. Birley said that parents were prepared to pay the higher fees involved because, religious factors aside, many of them were more conveniently placed than the Board schools, often out of personal regard for teachers known to them and for social reasons, the voluntary schools often being regarded as socially superior to⁴ the Board schools.

The Inspectors of the district were convinced of the superiority of the Board schools. Kennedy was at first doubtful

1. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, pp.899, 911.

2. Ibid, p.777.

3. Ibid, p.902.

4. Ibid, p.802.

of the quality of the Board schools and wrote in 1875: "in respect of excellence, no Board school in my district has yet reached the same degree of merit as is to be found among the public elementary schools under private managers." ¹ Subsequent reports, however, came out firmly in favour of the Board schools.

An important step towards improving the quality of the Board schools was the appointment of Inspectors and organising masters by the Boards, whose job it was to visit the Board's schools to discover and remedy problems before they developed. In 1875 the Manchester Board appointed John Sutton, the certificated headmaster of the Parish School, Sheffield, as its organising master. ² The Board was soon convinced of the value of this appointment and wrote that: "to his practical knowledge and untiring energy the Board believe is, in great part, due ³ the present efficient state of their schools." ⁴ Cornish commented on this development in his report of 1878.

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1875, p.315.

2. Manchester School Board, 2nd Report, 1876, p.6.

3. Ibid

4. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878, p.539.

He wrote that as yet there were only four Board schools in his district, which made it difficult to compare the Board and voluntary schools. He was, however, convinced that when Boards generally began to appoint their own Inspectors or organising masters they would improve rapidly and quickly overtake the voluntary schools which were generally opposed to admitting such Inspectors. He drew attention to the Salford Diocesan Board whose Inspector, Mr. Seabrook, had increased passes in schools under his control from 78.1% to 91.7% and his powers were much less than those of the Board's Inspectors, being limited to friendly criticism and suggestion only.¹

Cornish returned to this theme of the comparative qualities of the Board and voluntary schools, in his report for 1882.² He wrote that he was convinced that ultimately the Board schools would not only be greatly superior, but would eliminate the voluntary schools completely. There were two reasons for the failure of the voluntary schools to maintain high standards, he claimed, the inept management and the practice of farming out the schools to the teachers running them. In the past he

1. Ibid, 1878, p.539.

2. Ibid, 1882, p.303.

wrote, failure to manage schools efficiently could be dismissed as "amiable weakness", but now, faced with efficient management from the Boards, this was unsatisfactory. Incompetent management was the main reason why managers did not welcome organising masters. It was a case of "the usual aversion of the incompetent for able and energetic assistants."¹ The practice of farming out schools meant that the teachers running them increased fees to the limit, and sold books and other material on the principle of buying cheaply and selling as high as possible. He was indignant² that the working-class should be made to attend such schools.

A further factor affecting the relative quality of the two types of school was the introduction of pupil-teacher centres by many Boards in the area in the 1880's. This development meant that pupil-teachers at voluntary schools³ would certainly be at a disadvantage.

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, 1882, p.303.

3. Ibid, 1889, p.322.

E. Achievements.

After 1870 the schools of the Manchester district were steadily producing a literate population. The problem of assessing achievements in this period is, however, not one of estimating the amount of literacy, but rather the quality of that literacy. A successful educational system would be one which not only produced men and women able to read, write and calculate, but who were also able to use these skills intelligently and who had some understanding of the world in which they lived. The equally important civilising effect of education must also be considered. The estimation of the quality of education at this time, therefore, becomes a much more subjective matter.

Literacy spread markedly in the years after 1870. The number of people signing the marriage register with a mark in Lancashire dropped from 29.95% in 1870 to 15.98% in 1884. Figures taken from the Inspectors' Reports show that the schools were turning out boys and girls reasonably proficient in the 3 R's. In Salford between 1878 and 1885 the percentage of passes increased as follows:-

1. Cross Commission, Third Report, 1888, p.736 - 7.

Table XXIX showing percentage passes in the 3 R's in Salford 1878 to 1885. Taken from Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878, p.536, 1882, p.300, 1885, p.274.

	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic
1878	94.3	87.2	74.1
1882	95.7	90.1	83.5
1885	98.1	93.5	85.3

Cornish wrote of these figures that they "show that this important part of the school work is receiving the attention it deserves."¹ Passes in Manchester similarly averaged 90%² by 1885.

Perhaps the best indication of rising standards in the 3 R's is the falling off in demand for the lower Standards, which were themselves increased in standing as the old

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1882, p.300.

2. Ibid, 1885, p.274.

Standard 1 disappeared in 1871 and Standards 6 and 7 were
added.¹ The elementary evening schools declined in
popularity as their pupils achieved basic literacy and
began to demand higher Standards.² The following figures,
referring to the percentage of candidates examined in the
various Standards at the Manchester Board Schools, shows
clearly the rising standard of literacy at this time as
demand for the lower Standards declined and demand for the
higher Standards increased.

1. See p. 278.

2. See pp. 263 - 264.

Table XXX showing the percentage of passes in the various standards in Manchester Board Schools 1876 to 1885. Taken from Manchester School Board, 4th Report, 1882, p.7, 5th Report, 1885, p.6.

Standards % passes.							
Date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1876	47	23	16	11	2.5	.5	-
1877	43	29	15	9	3	1	-
1878	27	31	24	12	5	1	-
1879	32	27	21	14	4	2	-
1880	26	24	22	16	8	4	-
1881	23	23	21	18	10	5	-
Eng. & Wales 1881-2	28	24	21	16	8	3	-
1882	24	20.9	20.1	18.1	10.4	4.8	1.7
1883	24.6	21.7	19.9	18.6	9.3	.1	1.8
1884	23.8	21.9	20.6	17.3	10.2	4.5	2.1
1885	21.8	21.6	20	17.6	11.2	5.4	2.4
Eng. & Wales 1884 -5	22.2	24.5	22	17.4	9.4	3.6	.9

Whilst these results give an indication of the rising amount of literacy at this time, they should, however, be read with caution. There is the constant problem that examination results are not a true test of ability, especially when the nature of the examination conducted by the Inspector at this time is considered. The Cross Commission pointed out that examination results were based on a vast number of children appearing before the Inspector and, in the case of reading, the Inspector listening to them for a minute or so, usually without questioning them. Birley agreed that usually only half a dozen lines were listened to, but that Cornish, the Inspector for Salford, did, in fact, question thoroughly.² It is difficult to see, however, how questioning, or indeed the examination as a whole, could have been thorough if the amount of work involved is considered. Further, until 1882, many schools kept their worst candidates away from school on inspection day, a fact which tended to inflate the results. Kennedy pointed out in 1877 that examination results did not give a true indication of the merit of the schools because of this fact.³ Cornish in the following year claimed that if all

1. Cross Commission, Second Report, 1887, p.908.

2. Ibid

3. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1878, p.536.

the children qualified were presented for examination, then¹
the results would be reduced by between four and five per cent.

Again these figures are no test of the ability of
the candidates to think for themselves. Indeed the Inspectors'
constant complaint was that the candidates could cope with
mechanical work, but were incapable of using a little common
sense. They could read, but often did not know the meaning
of the words they were reading; they could write a fair hand,
but had difficulty in writing anything original; and they could²
work their sums but failed completely when it came to problems.
Coward wrote in 1889 that the efficiency of a school was best
gauged by the intelligence displayed within it and, whilst the
situation was improving, much remained to be done. The problem
of attaining this higher ideal he claimed, lay with the teachers,
who must be adult, as opposed to pupil-teachers, and fully
educated.³ "We need to make the schools a more effective
instrument, so organised and equipped as to produce necessarily⁴
intellectual results."

Schools producing such results were to be found. Oakley

1. Ibid, 1875, p.320; 1879, p.343.

2. Ibid, 1875, p.320; 1879, p.343.

3. Ibid, 1889, p.304.

4. Ibid

singled out 28 Manchester schools for particular praise in his Report for 1879. He wrote: "I have not met with any elementary schools superior to several of them; admirable order, intelligence and accurate grounding, the additional subjects so well taught that anything like a fair question was answered at once and the "specific" subjects¹ fairly well prepared". It was a pleasure to see "the cheerful and bright faces of the teachers and scholars"².

The merit grant introduced in 1882 was designed to encourage those qualities which it was difficult to test by examination. Manchester had a high share of these awards, as the following figures show, and this indicates the rising standards of the schools of the district.

1. Ibid., 1879 p. 343.

2. Ibid

Table XXXI showing percentage of Manchester School Board
School departments awarded Excellent Merit Grades in 1885.
Taken from Manchester School Board, 5th Report, 1885, p.8.

Percentage of Board School Departments awarded
Excellent Merit Grades in 1885.

Birmingham	20%	London	24%
Bradford	37%	Sheffield	28%
Hull	13%	Manchester	54% - reduced to 25.3% by 1888.
Leeds	32%		
Liverpool	34%	Average England and Wales	17%

Here also, however, there were problems since the qualities for which the merit grant was awarded were so ephemeral, that many Inspectors found the award difficult to administer. They had to take into account not simply the merit of the school, but its quality in relation to the district in which it was situated.¹

There can be little doubt, however, that the quality of education was improving during these years, despite these

1. Ibid, 1885, p.273.

qualifications and problems. Poor quality private adventure schools continued, now filling the role of "bolt holes" through which parents could avoid bye-laws enforcing attendance and they were difficult to deal with in an age of laissez faire, since there was a reluctance on the part of those concerned with education to take away the school owner's livelihood. The general rule was, however, one of schools increasing in efficiency with the very bad schools now being few and far between. Manchester acquired in the years after 1870, a system of education which was in marked contrast with the situation of the early years of the century. Most children were receiving an adequate education, which at least produced literacy, many passed on to evening schools and higher grade schools whilst the fortunate few passed on to the few secondary schools. Opportunities were expanding even though the ladder might be narrow and at times flimsy.

Schools at this time realised that they had a function which went beyond simply producing a literate population and they did much to civilise the notoriously wild populations of industrial Lancashire. Considerable emphasis was placed on

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1. Ibid., 1872, p.54.
 2. Ibid., 1875, p.319.
 3. Ibid., 1875, p.319; 1879, p.343.

good discipline which involved transforming an unruly class of children who hitherto had experienced little restraint on their personal freedom into a tractable class. This was not an age when self-expression was encouraged, and children had to be taught elementary codes of social behaviour. Inspectors invariably commented on the discipline of the schools they visited, which was usually good. Lavatories and facilities for washing were introduced, not simply for the use of the children in school, but to teach many children that such things existed and how to use them. In the 1880's free breakfasts were introduced by the Manchester Board, to complement the care which schools were increasingly beginning to provide.

A good example of the civilising role of the schools can be seen in the introduction of Penny Savings Banks. An Education Department Circular No. 153, 16th January, 1878, instructed Inspectors to "call attention to the facilities which now exist for the establishment of School Penny Savings Banks, and to the great success which attended their introduction in many schools in the poorest districts".¹ The Manchester School Board took advantage of these facilities and from 3 banks in 1877,

1. Ibid, 1879, p.18.

the number increased to 65 in 1882 and 139 by 1888.¹ These Banks not only taught providence, a considerable virtue in the Victorian age, but also had the added advantage of preventing children from moving from school to school; they tended instead to stay where their bank account was.²

Kennedy commented on the civilising effect of education in his Report for 1875. He wrote that he had "abundant testimony that the formerly rude and violent 'residuum' is unquestionably and greatly softened and enlightened".³ People were no longer pelted because they wore broadcloth and disputes with employers had grown less violent.⁴ He pointed out, however, that the volume of crime had not diminished. In Manchester, for example, where the number of schools had increased markedly, arrests for drunkenness had increased by 1,000 per annum. He concluded prophetically that the power of the school was limited: "I feel sure that mere education in the elementary school cannot contend

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1. Manchester School Board, Reports, 3rd, 1879, p.17; 4th, 1882, pp.20 - 21; 6th, 1888, p.44.
 2. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1879, p.17.
 3. Ibid., 1875, p.314.
 4. The spread of education undoubtedly contributed towards this, but the increasing prosperity of the times must also be taken into account.

successfully against the influences of the wretched homes
in our crowded towns".¹ They could only do their work
properly if the home co-operated. This co-operation was
not forthcoming from the homes of the bulk of the children
in Manchester elementary schools at this time and whatever
results the schools achieved, they achieved them alone,
against great odds.

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1875, p.325.

Appendix to Chapter 6. Tables showing the achievements
of school children in Manchester.

The careers of the Manchester School Board scholarship winners, taken from Manchester School Board, 5th Report, 1885, Table XI, pp.12 - 13.

Name	Age	Elementary School	Higher School	Present occupation
<u>1875</u>				
William Ellis	12	Peter St.	Manchester G.S.	Warehouseman
Ernest Jones	12	Lower Moseley St.	"	-
G.W. Smith	12	"	"	Assistant teacher
Ellis Taylor	12	Peter St.	"	Pupil-teacher
Sydney Cooper	12	Lower Moseley St.	"	Assistant teacher
F.A. Greenwood	12	St. Thomas'	"	"
Jas. Halliwell	12	Peter St.	"	Engineer
C.P. Clarke	12	"	"	Assistant teacher
C.H. Hardisty	12	"	"	"
<u>1876</u>				
Peter Cowen	12	"	"	-
John Taylor	12	Lower Moseley St.	"	Assistant to Art master M.C.S.
Wm. Lilley	12	Peter St.	"	Student Borough Rd.T.C.

Name	Age	Elementary School	Higher School	Present occupation
Harry Tyson	12	Lower Moseley St.	Manchester G.S.	Assistant teacher
T. Flannagan	12	Peter St.	"	"
<u>1877</u>				
Fred Sugden	12	Lower Moseley St.	"	-
Harry Barnes	12	Peter St.	"	Clerk in Gas Office
Geo. Kirmas	12	"	"	Warehouseman
C.W. Whiley	12	Lower Moseley St.	"	-
H. Entwistle	12	"	"	Student at T.C.
<u>1878</u>				
Nellie Turner	13	Christ Church	Manchester High School Girls	Assistant teacher
F. Firth	12	Peter St.	Manchester G.S.	Articled Accountant
Beatrice Holme	12	Christ Church	Manchester High School Girls	Student at Girton
John Hudson	12	Lower Moseley St.	Manchester G.S.	-
James Shaw	12	Peter St.	"	Warehouseman
C. Clarkson	12	"	"	-
<u>1881</u>				
Sarah Andrew	13	Peter St.	Manchester High School Girls	Pupil-teacher

Name	Age	Elementary School	Higher School	Present occupation
Alfred Coy	12	Ducie Ave.	Manchester G.S.	Bank Clerk
F.R. Sharp	11	Peter St.	"	Student M.G.S.
J.Herschowitz	12	Ducie Ave.	"	"
Constance Moore	14	"	Manchester High School Girls	Student Owen's College
Amy Mullock	12	-	"	-
<u>1882</u>				
Margaret Lee	12	Ducie Ave.	"	Student Manchester H.S.
Mary Robertson	13	"	"	-
Margaret Gill	12	Peter St.	"	-
A. Harding	12	"	Manchester G.S.	-
<u>1884</u>				
Geneviene Holt	13	Ducie Ave.	Manchester High School Girls	school
Nellie Pugh	13	"	"	"
<u>1885</u>				
Emily McMichael	13	"	"	"

The future careers of ten girls awarded scholarships
to Manchester High School for Girls 1879 to 1885.

Bryce Report, Vol. VI, p.371.

- A
1878 Cambridge Junior Locals with first class honours and
distinction in Latin. Awarded a School Exhibition
£60 p.a. for three years at Girton College, Cambridge.
Now teaching in a High School.
- B
1879 Cambridge Junior Locals III class. Awarded a School
Exhibition £35 for three years. A pupil-teacher in an
elementary school.
- C
1881 Cambridge Junior Locals. First class, distinction
in Maths. Entered Victoria University (Owen's College)
and proceeded from there to Cambridge Training College.
Now teaching in a High School.
- D
1881 Won a Scholarship to the Women's Department, Owen's
College. Graduated B.A. Now teaching in Germany.
- E
1881 Left before expiry of Scholarship because of illness in
the family.

- F
1882 Cambridge Junior Locals. First class, distinction in Latin, Maths. Entered Girton College with a Cloth Worker's Open Scholarship of £80 p.a. for three years and a School Exhibition of £35 p.a. for three years. First Class (Hons. Maths). Now teaching in a High School.
- G
1882 Entered Owen's College with a School Exhibition of £35 p.a. for three years. Graduated (B.Sc.). Now Science Mistress in a Technical School, Birmingham.
- H
1883 Cambridge Junior Locals II class, distinction in Maths. Left Manchester.
- I
1883 Cambridge Junior Locals III class. Became a pupil-teacher.
- J
1885 Cambridge Junior Locals III class. Became a pupil-teacher.

The occupation of leavers from Manchester Central Higher
Grade School, June 1st 1893, to 31st May, 1894. Bryce Report,

Vol. VI, p.131.

Warehouse and Office boys	129	
Bank	4	
Auctioneer's Apprentice	2	
Railway Clerk	<u>1</u>	
	136	= 68%
Mechanics Apprentice	3	
Draughtsman's Apprentice	1	
India - rubber works	4	
Plumber	3	
Brass-finisher	3	
Engineer	3	
Watchmaker	3	
Electrical engineer	5	
Designer	1	
Pattern-card maker	1	
Marine engineer	1	
Mill	<u>8</u>	
	36	= 18%
Milk boy	1	
Grocer's boy	5	
Errand boy	6	
Draper	1	
Chemist	4	
Leather dealer	2	
Furniture dealer	1	
Tailor	3	
Builder	<u>2</u>	
	25	= 13%

Pupil-teacher	2	=	1%
Ill-health	10		
Entered other schools	28		
Unknown	29		
	<u>69</u>		

Conclusion.

"Let us each of us then think of our own homes, of the villages in which we have to live, of the towns in which it is our lot to be busy; and do we not know child after child - boys or girls - growing up to probable crime, to still more probable misery because badly taught or utterly untaught?" (W.E. Forster, Parliamentary Debates, 3/CXCIX/440 - 446 February 17th, 1870).

Out of this inquiry into the educational life of the Manchester area in the nineteenth century now concluded, five main points of interest emerge.

In the first place there was the obvious and widespread concern regarding the state of education during the years preceding the Education Act of 1870, both from the supporters and the opponents of more direct state intervention. This can be seen in the numerous investigations, both private and official, which took place between 1833 and 1870. The Manchester Statistical Society set the pattern; the investigations of the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1852 and the Fearon inquiry of 1869, along with private individuals such as Edward Baines, the Rev. Joseph Nunn and Edward Brotherton, continued it. Societies formed to further education in the district proliferated, whilst in the local press articles and letters on educational topics abounded.

These inquiries revealed that in the Manchester area the voluntary system, contrary to the argument put forward by E.G. West, was incapable of providing education for anything approaching a satisfactory proportion of the child population, whether this is viewed as a place for every child or, as the School Boards subsequently fixed it, as places for one sixth of the population, one fifth in poorer working-class districts such as were found in and around Manchester. All the inquiries conducted during the period 1833 to 1870, with one exception, give figures ranging between 40% and 50%, of the child population at school. The Newcastle Commission was the exception which, following an unsatisfactory and unrepresentative survey so far as Lancashire was concerned, gave a higher figure for the sample area. Even this, however, represented only one in eight of the population. If the necessary places could have been found by the voluntary system, it is doubtful if they could have been filled without the element of compulsion which the School Boards subsequently introduced. There seems to have been little popular demand for education either from the working-classes or from the middle-classes.

Thus, it must be concluded that state intervention on an ever-increasing scale was essential before an educational

system capable of meeting the needs of an expanding industrial society could be created. It was only in the late 1860's, with the ever increasing threat of direct state intervention, that the voluntary system was prodded into action. In the late 1860's and 1870's the schools provided by the voluntary agencies expanded at a remarkable rate and the most glaring deficiencies were filled. For this they must be given full credit, but it was a brief flowering. They were not able to maintain this effort and keep pace with the expanding population on the one hand and the increasing demand for education of a superior character on the other. It was the School Boards, which had been generally reluctant to interfere directly in the supply of schools in the early years, which coped with these problems.

The failure of the voluntary system is reflected in the poor quality of such education which was provided before 1870, particularly amongst the private schools. The introduction of more direct state intervention and the School Boards did not, however, automatically lead to improved standards. Much of what the Boards subsequently provided was of doubtful quality, which perhaps demonstrates the truth that the availability of funds and an increase in the sheer quantity of education does not necessarily improve quality.

If any single factor determining quality is to be picked out it must be the quality of the teacher in the classroom.

Finally, schools providing education of a secondary nature encountered many difficulties during this period. During the early years the endowed grammar schools failed to provide an education which satisfied the needs of the industrial and commercial community which they served. When the curriculum and organisation changed to meet this demand, the result was usually education of a poor quality, whether found in the endowed grammar schools or the private schools which had sprung up in response to the demand for a modern education. Reorganisation of the grammar schools brought improvement as fee-paying pupils provided the income necessary for improving the quality of education generally, but the introduction of the higher grade schools by the Boards, which provided sound but cheap education considered suitable by local parents, further hampered their development. This was not a particularly happy time for secondary education in the Manchester district.

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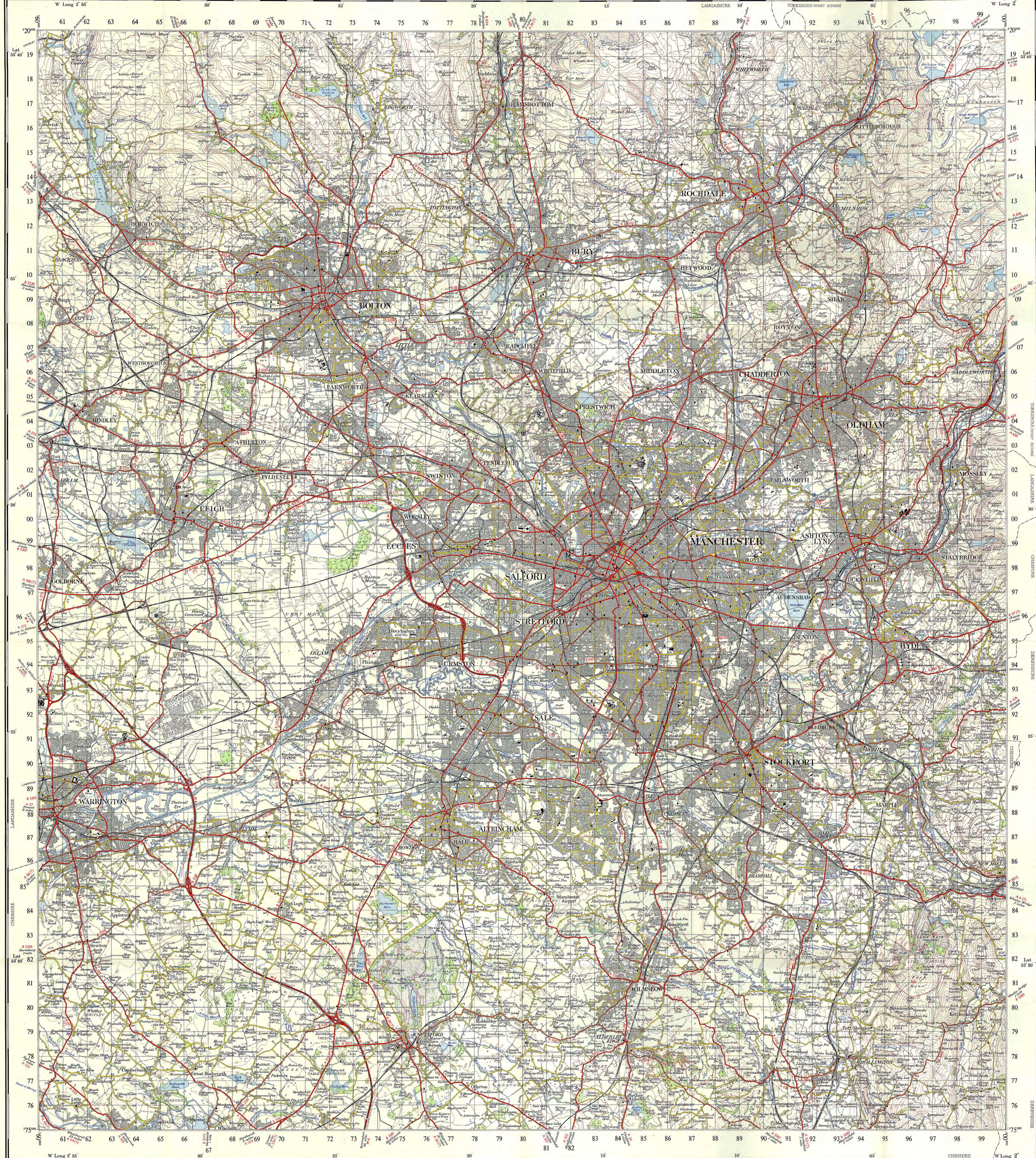
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Difference from Grid North

0° 29' E. NW Corner
0° 00' N.E.
0° 29' E. SW
0° 00' S.E.

EXAMPLE
 Grid Reference: 72 75
 Easting: 72, Northing: 75
 Take south edge of kilometre square in which point lies and read the large figures printed opposite this line on each of such squares.
 Estimate tenths Eastwards.

Scale: One Inch to One Statute Mile = 1/63360

1,000 2,000 3,000 4,000 5,000 6,000 7,000 8,000 9,000 Yards
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Kilometres

TO GIVE A GRID REFERENCE CORRECT TO 100 METRES
 See diagram on left for Grid Letters. They are SJ.

EXAMPLE
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 Easting: 72, Northing: 75
 Take south edge of kilometre square in which point lies and read the large figures printed opposite this line on each of such squares.
 Estimate tenths Eastwards.

Legend

Ministry of Transport, Manurewa	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	5th Class	6th Class	7th Class	8th Class	9th Class	10th Class	11th Class	12th Class	13th Class	14th Class	15th Class	16th Class	17th Class	18th Class	19th Class	20th Class	21st Class	22nd Class	23rd Class	24th Class	25th Class	26th Class	27th Class	28th Class	29th Class	30th Class	31st Class	32nd Class	33rd Class	34th Class	35th Class	36th Class	37th Class	38th Class	39th Class	40th Class	41st Class	42nd Class	43rd Class	44th Class	45th Class	46th Class	47th Class	48th Class	49th Class	50th Class
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